THE

PRÁKṚITA-LAKSHAṆAM

OR

CHAṆḌA'S GRAMMAR

OF THE

ANCIENT (ÁRSHA) PRÁKṚIT

EDITED BY

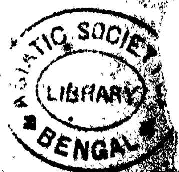
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Part I.

TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND INDEXES.



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TO

SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K. C. S. I.

ETC., ETC.

WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

THIS WORK

IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.

PREFACE.

In the Introductory remarks, I shall fully explain the reasons of the arrangement observed in the following edition. In the main portion of it, I have adopted the text of the MSS. A and B, giving as a rule, in case of a difference, the preference to the reading of A. All the additional matter in the text of the MSS. C and D, as well as what is peculiar to any one or several MSS., has been distributed in the Appendices. This arrangement, I am aware, has its drawbacks; but on the whole I have thought it the best possible in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The footnotes immediately under the text contain extracts from the marginal gloss of MS. C, as also the few marginal remarks that occur in MS. B. Below these again are given, at the foot of each page, the various readings of the four MSS. Undoubted clerical errors have been omitted. With the exception of these, every difference has been noted; in doubtful cases, I have even admitted what to me seemed a mere clerical error. Considering the important character of Chaṇḍa's work and the state of the materials at my command, it seemed to me particularly desirable to place the reader in possession of the fullest information to form his own judgment on points that may be disputable.

The two indexes of sútras and Prákrit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

The whole work is contemplated to consist of two parts. The second part, containing an English translation and annotations, is nearly ready for the press and will shortly appear.

There only remains to me the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Dr. Rajendra Lála Mitra Rai Bahádur and Paṇḍit Ráma Miṣra Ṣástrí in so readily placing at my service their MSS. of Chaṇḍa's Grammar, and the liberality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in providing the necessary funds for the publication of this work.

A. F. R.-H.

Calcutta, October 1880.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Prákrit Grammar the text of which is given in the following pages professes to be the work of Chaṇḍa. About his person and the time when he lived nothing, so far as I am aware, is known beyond what can be gathered from the work itself. From the mention of Víra or Mahávíra, the great apostle of the Jain religion, in the introductory verse, and from the fact that the Grammar treats of an ancient form of what is now commonly called the Jaina Prákrit, it may perhaps be permissible to conclude that he belonged to the Jain community.* That he must have lived in very early times, probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes; assuming, of course, that he was contemporary with that language.

The Grammar bears the name of Prákṛita-Lakshaṇa. It is a curious circumstance, that a grammar, bearing the same name, is ascribed by two old writers, Kedára Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri, to Páṇini, the famous Sanskrit Grammarian. The remark of the former, as quoted by d'Alwis in his Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar (p. xxv), is the following: *páṇinibhagaván prákṛitalakshaṇam api vakti saṃskṛitád anyat, "dírghákshараṃ cha kútrachid ekáṃ mátrám upaiti" iti; i. e.*, "the blessed Páṇini also enunciates a Prákrit rule, different from Sanskrit, *viz.*, that a long vowel becomes short."† Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sútra II, 3. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply that Páṇini was the author of a Prákrit grammar of that name. The language of Malayagiri, as quoted by Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 277, and *Indische Streifen*, vol. II, p. 325, is much more explicit. It occurs in his commentary to the well-known Jaina work, the Súryaprajñápti,

* It is not impossible, however, that the introductory verse is to be ascribed to the Revisionists, to whom most of the other Jaina indications are due; *e. g.*, the invocation of the Siddhas at the beginning of the work, and the same in sútra I, 5. The mere fact of Chaṇḍa treating of an old form of Prákrit, which was afterwards modified by the Jainas, does not necessarily prove any connection of Chaṇḍa with the latter.

† See also Pischel *Dissertatio inauguralis*, p. 4. According to Weber, *Indische Streifen* II, p. 325, there appears to be some doubt as to the authenticity of the quotation.

and is as follows: "*chattári*" *iti cha sútre napuṃsakatvanirdeṣaḥ prákṛitatvát; prákṛite hi lingaṃ vyabhichári, yad áha páṇiniḥ svaprákṛtalakshaṇe,* "*lingaṃ 'vyabhicháry api*" *iti; i. e.*, "as to the form 'chattári' occurring in the sútra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prákrit; for in Prákrit the gender is changeable, as Páṇini has said in his (work called) Prákṛitalakshaṇa: 'the gender is changeable also.'" Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sútra I, 4. If our Prákṛitalakshaṇa is the work referred to by those two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations. The passage of Kedára Bhaṭṭa, indeed, I do not think, exactly professes to give a quotation, but rather a paraphrase of the rule which was in his mind. Malayagiri's language certainly seems to imply that he quotes a rule. Among all Prákrit grammars, known at present, there is none which contains such a rule. The nearest approach to it is the rule in Hemachandra IV, 445 and Trivikrama III, 4, 69, *lingam atantram*, with its commentary: *apabhraṃṣe lingam atantraṃ vyabhichári práyo bhavati.* It seems very probable, that Malayagiri misquotes Hemachandra's rule and somehow or other confuses the Prákṛita-Lakshaṇa with Hemachandra's work. It may be observed, that to quote the exact rule of the Prákṛitalakshaṇa, *kvachid vyatyayaḥ*, would hardly have suited him, as without an explanation it would not have been intelligible, whereas Hemachandra's rule is so. A confusion of Chaṇḍa's and Hemachandra's works will perhaps not appear so unnatural, when it is remembered (as I shall show in the sequel), that in all probability Chaṇḍa's work was, as it were, the frame round which Hemachandra built up his own work. It should also be noted, that while Hemachandra's rule is limited to the Apabhraṃṣa, Malayagiri understands his rule to apply to Prákrit generally. Now Chaṇḍa's rule *does* apply to Prákrit generally. The fact, that both Kedára Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri ascribe the Prákṛita-Lakshaṇa to Páṇini, is, of course, of no weight. It merely shows that they had only a traditional acquaintance with the work. Still its traditional ascription to Páṇini is in so far important, as it shows that the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative. This character well agrees with Chaṇḍa's Prákṛitalakshaṇa. There is another curious circumstance in Malayagiri's Commentary, which I may mention here, as it seems to bear on the question under notice. Weber (in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 273) quotes another remark of that writer: *bahuvachanaṃ prákṛitatvád, uktaṃ cha* "*bahuvayaṇe* (°*yaṇena?*) *duvayaṇam*" *iti; i. e.* "(the use of) the plural is (accountable) by Prákrit usage, for it is said that 'the dual (is to be expressed) by the plural.'" Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sútra II, 12, with its commentary.* But the curious fact is that in the marginal

* Hemachandra has a similar rule in III, 130, but his grammatical terminology [illegible] different (*dvivachanasya bahuvachanam*) and seems to have been taken form Vararuchi VI, 63.

gloss of MS. C, specimens of which are appended to the text in this edition, that sútra of Chaṇḍa is always quoted in nearly the same Prákrit transliteration as in Malayagiri, though all other sútras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, *e. g.*, the footnote to *sakkisáṇá* in II, 1., and the footnote to *dvitvam* in II, 12. I suppose it can hardly be doubtful, but that the writer of the marginal gloss really meant Chaṇḍa's sútra by his Prákrit quotation; and if so, the same Prákrit quotation in Malayagiri must refer to the same sútra (of Chaṇḍa). Perhaps the fact shows that Chaṇḍa's Grammar was originally written in Prákrit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jaina Prákrit works; but that a few of his sútras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prákrit form, and were preferentially quoted in that form. Still after all has been said, the evidence remains of a very slender kind. Perhaps all that can be safely asserted is, that it is not impossible, that those two writers were speaking of Chaṇḍa's Prákṛita Lakshaṇa.

In preparing the following edition I have had the assistance of four MSS. which I have distinguished as A, B, C and D respectively.

MSS. A and B are the property of Dr. Rájendralála Mitra of Calcutta, who very kindly placed them at my service. They are mentioned by Dr. Mitra on p. xix, of the Appendix to Vol. III, Part II, No. IX, of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta, 1875). They were by him supposed to be only one MS.; but on coming into my hands, I was very agreeably surprised to discover that they really were two distinct and (as a glance at the variae lectiones and appendices will at once show) independent MSS. of the same work. Both are quite modern copies (bearing date 1875, Samvat 1931). Of the originals, I regret, I have not been able to obtain a sight. Dr. Mitra informs me that they were in the possession of a Paṇḍit in Lucknow, who has since died; but that he has not seen them himself. It would have been of great importance to have been able to consult the originals. The copies are clearly written, but they abound in errors. Some of these are mere clerical errors which offer no difficulty; others again appear to be merely the peculiarities of Jain orthography, somewhat exaggerated by being translated into the ordinary Nágarí characters of the North West Provinces. I shall explain these peculiarities further on. Both MSS. A and B are complete, written on paper and consisting of nine small oblong leaves, with nine lines to the page.

MS. C is a very excellent MS., beautifully, carefully and almost faultlessly written. It is on paper and consists of thirteen leaves, with nine lines to the page. It was lent to me by my friend, Paṇḍit Ráma Miṣra Ṣástrí, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Sanskrit College at Benares. It belongs to one of his students, a Jain by religion, and a native of Koḍáyá in Kachchh (W. India). It was copied by the latter for his own use, which accounts for its

excellent execution. It is said to have been copied from a very old MS., 400 years old; with how much of truth, I am unable to say, my efforts to obtain it being baffled by the usual plea of its owner having died. The MS. is complete; and has the peculiarity of being supplied with a very copious marginal gloss, written in very close lines and extremely small letters on the margin and, here and there, between the lines of the text. This gloss, however, only extends as far as the 27th sútra of the IInd chapter. Whether this is owing to the original MS. having had no more of it, or the student, who copied it, failing to complete his transcript, does not appear.* The marginal gloss is chiefly of use inasmuch as it supplies Sanskrit translations of all Prákrit examples and quotations; it also well illustrates the manner of the native grammarians in applying grammatical rules to the explanations of word-forms. For these reasons I have added a few extracts from it in the footnotes, appended to the text and preceding the critical apparatus. The MS. C bears no date; but, of course, it must be of quite modern origin.

MS. D belongs to myself. It was given to me by my friend Paṇḍit Ráma Miṣra, the same gentleman who procured for me MS. C. It is a very fair MS., though not so good as C. It is clearly and carefully written; but it is not without mistakes, which, however, being obvious clerical errors,† are of no account and, therefore, have generally not been noticed in the critical footnotes. It is on paper and consists of nineteen leaves, with six lines to every page. It is a quite modern copy, of 1876, which Paṇḍit Ráma Miṣra caused to be prepared for me from an old MS. in the possession of a Paṇḍit, resident in some village in the State of Alwar. This original MS. also I have been unable to procure, on account of the death in the meantime of its owner!

The orthography of all the four MSS. exhibits the peculiarities of what has been called the Jaina Prákrit.‡ MS. C is written in the Jaina

* The very curious error, noted on p. 13 (तिइति) made me at first inclined to look upon the gloss as a mere modern addition, possibly made by the student himself. But the fact, that one of its remarks with reference to sútra I, 13 occurs as part of the text in MS. D, renders this improbable. In any case, the author of it cannot have been a very learned paṇḍit; though for that matter, the author of the text itself, as contained in C, does not show very favourably. See, *e. g.*, the clumsy way in which sútra CD I, 6*a* is drawn.

† Thus गुखणं for गुरूणं, गिरिणं for गिरीणं, I, 5; Sanskrit जेषां for येषां in I, 3, etc.

‡ They rather seem to be the peculiarities of the Western Indian style of writing generally. I have noticed them in other than Jain writings; *e. g.*, in the MSS. of the Prithirája Rasau. Most Jaina writings are from Western India. On Jaina Prákrit orthography, see Weber *Bhagavati*, pp. 383-392, E. Müller, *Beitrage zur Grammatik des Jaina Prákrit*, pp. 11, 29, 30, Jacobi, *Kalpa Sútra*, pp. 17-21, Klatt, *Dhanapála's Rishabha*

Prákrit style; MS. D also, but not so uniformly. MSS. A and B
written in the ordinary Nágarí of Eastern Hindústán, but they show un
takeable traces of having been copied from originals written in the Jaina
western style. These orthographic peculiarities (see Plate) may be divi
into two classes, graphic and phonetic. To the former belong

1. The symbol No. 1 (in the Plate) for *o*. In MS. C this is alwa
carefully distinguished from उ *u*. MS. D in a few cases confuses them
But in A and B they are not only perpetually confused, but sometimes eve
ऊ (*ú*) or उँ (*ur*) is written; thus showing that the copyists had no notion o
the meaning of that Jaina symbol.

2. In MS. C *u* in conjunction with certain consonants has a peculiar
shape. See Nos. 2—7.

3. The two symbols Nos. 8 or 9 for *jh* and No. 10 for *ḍ* are always care-
fully distinguished in C; but are much confounded in D. The ordinary Nágarí
symbol ड *ḍ*, however, is also occasionally used in D; in C it is the usual one.

4. The substistute ष for ख, so common in modern writing, never occurs
in C and D. In B it is found once; *viz.*, III, 15 षक्खा: for खक्खा:. On the
other hand, MS. A has once the very unusual substitute ख for ष; *viz.* III, 14
पाखाण for पाषाण.

5. The use of the symbols ब *b* and व *v* is very uncertain. Thus C has
in juxtaposition *besuṃ* and *vesu* (I, 3), *behiṃ* and *vehi* (I, 1), *bahú* (I, 3) and
vahúe (I, 9). MS. D has *ribú* and *rivuṃ* (I, 3), *gávíand* *gábí* (II, 16), &c. On
the whole C follows the Sanskrit use, while D prefers *v*. MSS. A and B are no
less uncertain; thus A has *vuddhí* and *buddhíu* (I, 10), *gábíe* and *gávíhiṃ*
(II, 16); B has *behinto* (I, 13), and *vehiṃ* (I, 7), &c. On the whole B pre-
fers *v*.† As it was necessary to observe some system, I have followed MS.
C in being guided by Sanskrit usage.

6. There is also much uncertainty in the use of the symbols स *s* and
श *ṣ*; though more so in A and B, than C and D. In C the confusion occurs
rarely; *e. g.*, *sílam* (I, 30), and commonly Sanskrit *súra*. In D it is much
more frequent; *e. g.*, *ṣaṣi* for *ṣasi* (I, 22); *ṣmaṣánam* for *ṣmaṣánam*, *sírshaḥ*
for *ṣírshaḥ*. &c. In A and B it is very common; thus in A and B, *ṣese*, *hamse*
pasuta for *ṣeṣe*, *hamṣe*, *paṣutta*, (IV, 39); in A *tíṣaṇham* for *tísaṇham* (I, 6).
The substitution of स for *ṣ* is much more common than the reverse.

7. The symbols Nos. 11 or 12 for *kkh* often occur in D. In A and B

Panchásiká in J. G. O. S., vol. XXXIII, pp. 447, 448, also Stevenson, *Kalpa Sútra*, pp. 137-143.

* Once D writes ओ for *o*.

† Curiously enough, when B has *b*, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words; *e. g.*, *bayamu* for *vayam* (I, 3), *beti kim* (III 7), *barga* (III, 17), *barṇa* (III, 25).

…e symbols are Nos. 13 and 14.* C always has the usual Nágarí symbol क्ख, …ch also occurs twice in A. In a few cases A B D write simply ख; C never.

8. The symbol ग्ग for *gg* is very common in the marginal gloss, though … in the text, of C. Once or twice it occurs in D. Otherwise the ordinary …gari form ग्ग is used. In the originals of A and B, however, it must have …en almost universal. The copyists evidently did not know it; for they com…only write it as ग्न *gn* or ग्ज *gj*, see Nos. 15 and 16. Only once does A give …he correct transcription ग्ग, in *aggissa* (I, 13).

9. The symbols, No. 17 for *chchh* and No. 18 for *tth*, are generally distinguished in C; there are only two exceptions, *viz.*, *echchhu* for *etthu* (I, 11) and *pattham* for *pachchham* (III, 26). D uses the ordinary Nágarí symbol च्छ for both *chchh* and *tth;* thus pachchham = Skr. *pathyam* and *pachchho* for *pattho* = Skr. *párthah* in III, 26. A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary Nágarí च्छ *chchh* and ट्ठ *tth;* though the commonly write merely छ *chh* in the place of च्छ *chchh.* On the other hand C and D commonly write No. 17 and च्छ respectively in the place of छ *chh.*

10. The symbol of *jj* is No. 20 or 21, correctly transcribed in A and B by ज्ज.

11. The symbols Nos. 22—26 or Nos. 27 and 28 for *jjh* are used in C and D. The copyists of A and B, not understanding the former, variously transcribe it by Nos. 29—36.

12. The symbol ट्ठ for *ṭṭh* is commonly used by A, B, D; rarely ठ or ट्ठ. C has always ठ. Similarly the symbols ड्ढ or ड्ढ for ḍḍh are commonly used by all four MSS. I may here add the general remark, that conjuncts consisting of the unaspirate and aspirate of the same class, are treated with great laxity, as regards *writing* them; though, doubtlessly, they were always *pronounced* correctly (according to the rules Ch. III, 26. Vr. III, 51. H. C. II, 90). Thus hard aspirate conjuncts might be written in three ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its unaspirate. A sonant aspirate conjunct might even be written in four ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or the aspirate preceded by the hard unaspirate, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its sonant unaspirate. Examples of nearly each of these varieties may be found in the four MSS. of Chaṇḍa. I have met with every one of them in the MSS. of the Prithiráj Rásau. Thus the symbol No. 37 is strictly *pbh,* while Nos. 38 or 39 are *bbh.* Similarly Nos. 13 and 14 (in the Prithiráj क्ख) are strictly *khkh,* while Nos. 11 and 12 are *kkh.*

13. The symbols ष, ख, घ, थ, are often confounded in A and B, showing that the copyists were imperfectly acquainted with the orthography of the

* The former are to be seen in Weber's *Bhagavati*, Plate I, lines 6 and 8 (*dukkhánam*). The latter were in MS. W of the Prákrita Prakása, as noted by Cowell, p. 90, (sutra 20).

originals. It may be observed that, as a rule, ध *dh* is a mistake for च्च *chch* and घ *gh* for व्व *vv*; thus the former occurs in A सधिय (II, 17) for सच्चिय, B साध (III, 9) for साच्च; the latter in B पघंत: (III, 9) for पव्वंत:. The occasional use of ह्न or न्ह for ण्ह is peculiar to D; *e. g.*, कह्नं for कण्हं (III, 2), पुन्हो for पुण्हो (C D III, 15*a*).

14. The symbol No. 39 is used by C for *bbh* and *mbh*. MS. D has No. 38; and A B have Nos. 29, 40 and 41.

15. The mis-spelled symbol ह्म *hm* occurs very frequently in B and D. In A it is very rare; in C it never occurs.

16. The symbol म or मु is very commonly written in A and B, in the place of an anusvára, at the end of a phrase or sentence (see footnote to I, 1); never in C and D. In A the class nasal is not unfrequently written instead of the usual anusvára, in conjuncts; *e. g.*, *lingañcha* (I, 2), *hiñcha* (I, 17), *tumandevo* (I, 19), *kinte* (I, 23), *jalanti* (I, 12), *vambhaṇá* (II, 12), &c.

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prákrit observable in the MSS. are two:

1. The presence of the dental न *n*. In MSS. A and B, न, whether single or conjunct, is always used when standing at the beginning of a word, and almost always when in the middle of a word. In MSS. C and D, न is every where changed to ण, in accordance with the commoner Prákrit usage (see Vr. II, 42). This is rather a strange circumstance, seeing that the two MSS. C and D otherwise exhibit, in many ways, a more distinctly Jain character than A and B; compare, *e. g.*, their introductory salutation, and their additions in sútra I, 5.*

2. The so-called *ya-śruti*, *i. e.*, the insertion of an euphonic य *y* between two vowels, the latter of which must be *a*, while the preceding may be any one. This rule, however, is not uniformly observed in the MSS.

The text presented in these four MSS. differs very greatly. The most obvious difference is in extent, as will be seen at once from the relative size of the MSS. and from the list of sútras appended to this edition. The MSS. may be divided into two classes. The text of A and B is substantially the same, so is that of C and D; but while the former MSS. contain 99 sútras divided into three chapters, the latter extend to 126 and 128 sútras distributed into four chapters. The owner of A and B, who however had not examined his MSS., expressed a suspicion that they were fragmentary.† On first receiving them, I was myself inclined to think, that they contained a mutilated text. But further examination soon showed me, not only that A and B contained a complete, but that, in fact, they contained an older and a more original

* For a possible reason of this circumstance, see below p. xxiv.

† See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, November 1878.

text than C and D; that of the latter two MSS. being a much later, rearranged and enlarged, recension of the text of A and B. I shall here describe some of the most striking points of evidence: others will be noticed in the foot-notes to the English translation.

In the first place, as to the originality of the text of A and B. The order of the Sútras I, 19, 20, 21 in A and B is consistent, while their order I, 19, 21, 20 in C and D is inconsistent and necessitates an unusual interpretation of the term *cha* "also" in sútra I, 20. The word *cha* "also", used as a grammatical technical term, has a well-known and well-defined meaning. It always refers to the preceding rule and implies that what is mentioned there is *also* applicable to the rule in which *cha* occurs. Thus in MS. A and B, sútra I, 19 तुमं सो सविभक्तौ is followed by I, 20 अमि तुए च. The term च in the latter indicates, that the form तुमं mentioned in the former is *also* to be understood in the latter. The Revisionists, however, in order to dispose of all sútras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accusative, change the order of the sútras, placing them thus: I, 19. तुमं सो सविभक्तौ, I, 21 तुम्हे जसि, I, 20 अमि तुए च. But when the sútras are thus placed, the term च would imply that तुम्हे of the preceding sútra is also to be understood in the last sútra. As this result would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists actually *insert* into the last sútra the forms, which ought to be indicated by च as *understood*, and, therefore, alter the sútra to अमि तुए तुमं तं च (see App. C D, p. 41), so that here च does not refer to a preceding sútra but to a part of the sútra itself in which it occurs! There could hardly be a clearer piece of evidence as to which of the two texts is the original.

Again the omission of the sútra III, 10 in C and D disturbs the originally consistent plan on which the third chapter is drawn in A and B, and consequently necessitates in C and D a very inconsistent use of the sibilant स् *s*. in the sútras of that chapter. According to the plan of A and B in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sútras (III, 1—9); the remaining sútras (III, 11—39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants; the intermediate sútra (III, 10) is intended to indicate this division.* In the first part (III, 1—9), all conjuncts are reduced to single consonants, by eliding, in some way or other, all consonants of the conjunct save one. Having thus simplified the problem, so as to have none but single consonants (whether original or resultant) to deal with, Chaṇḍa next proceeds in the second part (III, 11—39) to enumerate the manifold changes

* No other division of the consonants, so far as these sútras are concerned, is recognised; it makes no difference, whether the conjunct or single consonant is medial or initial; or whether the single consonant is one which was originally single or has only become so as the result of the simplification of a conjunct consonant.

that the single consonants (no matter, whether original or resultant) may undergo. Now in the second part Chaṇḍa rules that every *single* श ṣ or ष *sh* changes to स *s* in Prákrit .(III, 18); so that as regards *single* consonants, स *s* represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chaṇḍa has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of स *s*. Thus we have sútra III, 14 सकारस्य खकारः, illustrated by दश = दख; again sútra III, 39 मागधिकायां रसयोर् लशौ, illustrated by शेषः = शेशे. Here श *s* and ष *sh* are indicated by स *s*, because by sútra III, 18 they are no more श ṣ and ष *sh*, but have been already changed to स *s*; that is, दश = दस = दख, and शेषः = सेसे = शेशे.* This procedure, of course, could not be applied to the first part (III, 1—9) which treats of *conjuncts* and which is not affected by sútra III, 18. In that part, स *s* cannot represent the whole sibilant class; for there the three Sanskrit sibilants, *as such*, become the subjects of change. In the first part, therefore, either all three sibilants must be enumerated severally whenever the sibilant class is spoken of, or some other short sign for them must be adopted. Chaṇḍa elected the latter course, and the sign he selected appears to have been the sibilant श ṣ; most probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (श, ष, स). Thus in sútra III, 2 शवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं, श represents स in स्वर्गं = सग्गं, and श in श्रोतव्यं = सोतव्वं. That is, व *v* and र *r* are respectively elided after स *s* and श ṣ; next स *s* and श ṣ, having now become single consonants, pass into the second part, where श ṣ at once comes under the operation of rule III, 18 and turns into स *s*; while स *s*, of course, remains unchanged.† I think it will be admitted that in this arrangement Chaṇḍa follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sútra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts; and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making sútra III, 18 applicable to the whole third chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of श ṣ and स *s*. Consequently they use स *s* throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants श ṣ and ष *sh* practically do not exist, having at once changed to स *s*.

* It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दस and सेसे are here introduced by a silent reference to sútra III, 18. Such "silent references" occur in all Prákrit Grammarians. As an instance from Hemachandra, I may mention his sútra I, 259, where he rules that the *v* of *svapna* becomes *m*; but in reality the *p* of *svapna*, having become *v* by silent reference to sútra I, 231, becomes *m*. That the *p*, not the *v*, of *svapna* is referred to in I, 259, may be seen by comparing the sútras I, 46 and II, 108.

† The whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sútra III, 23, but though that sútra is in the second part, the sibilants are referred to there, not as *single* consonants, but as parts of a *conjunct*. Hence, naturally, the sibilant used to indicate them is not स *s*, but श ṣ.

Thus C D read सयलेश्यो व्यंजनं in sútra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example श्रोतव्यं = सोतव्वं ; that is, they make स *s* to indicate श ṣ, because, according to them, श्रोतव्यं changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into स्रोतव्यं ; whereupon र *r* is elided by rule III, 2. This process, no doubt, simplifies the original method, by substituting one sign for the sibilant class in the place of two; but it does so at the expense of all symmetry and consistency of the original plan; for with the exception of those two sútras III, 10 and III, 18, all others are still treated as if the original plan of the division into two parts, referring to conjuncts and singles respectively, were still in force. This inconsistency becomes especially glaring in the case of sútra III, 8 षाट् ठः, which, on the revisionist principle, ought to have been changed to साट् ठः. For just as in the previous case श्रोतव्यं becomes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, स्रोतव्यं, so here स्पष्टं becomes by the same rule स्पस्टं ; next स *s* would be elided. So that, consistently, स *s* should here have been written to represent ष *sh*. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sútra षाट् ठः is correct; it could not have been spelled शाट् ठः, because the sibilant ष *sh* is the only (*conjunct*) sibilant to which the rule applies. Briefly, the matter as between Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists stands thus: Chaṇḍa uses श *s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever the rule is applicable to all the sibilants severally; hence when the rule applies to only one member of the sibilant class, he cannot use श *s*, but must use that member itself. On the other hand, he uses स *s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever ex hypothesi (that is, by silent reference to rule III, 18) no longer any other sibilant, but स *s*, is supposed to exist. This terminology, however, presupposes and necessitates the division of the chapter into two parts, which I have already explained. The Revisionists abolish the division and accept only the latter half of Chaṇḍa's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than स) as an indicatory in any sútra; for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but स *s*, is supposed to exist. The matter is complicated; but I trust I have succeeded in making it sufficiently clear. Perhaps a complete understanding of the point at issue will not be attainable, unless by practically working through the examples, as I have done, by the light of either of the rival theories. Unfortunately the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty of the spelling in the MSS. A and B. How little reliance can be placed on their spelling may be seen from the fact, that MS. B spells ससौ for शसौ in sútra III, 39. I must reserve the discussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored श *s* in all sútras, in which the original plan of Chaṇḍa requires it; *i. e.*, in III, 2. 4. 6. 23.*

* The only two Prákrit Grammarians, who, to my knowledge, use a *saṃjñá* or sign for the sibilant class are Trivikrama and Ṣubhachandra. The former uses श *sa* (T. V.

Next, as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS., the wording of sútra III, 34 in MSS. A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prákrit language, than the wording of the same sútra in MSS. C and D; and this circumstance is confirmed by sútras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sútra III, 34 in A and B, but not with that in C and D. It is further confirmed by the omission in A and B of all reference to the (so-called) Ṣauraseni dialect, that is, by the omission of sútra III, 39*a* which refers to one of the most incisive differences between that dialect and the (so-called) Máhárásḥṭrí; a difference which, at the period of the formulation of the rules as they are in the text of A B, evidently did not yet exist, while it was fully developed at the time when the text of C D was settled. A comparison of sútra III, 34 with III, 12 and of III, 13 with III, 11 shows that at that period when the text delivered in A B was written, hard medial single unaspirate consonants were not elided, nor hard medial single aspirates reduced to ह *h* (with the exception of क *k* and ख *kh*), though occasionally the former were changed into the corresponding soft consonants. On the other hand a comparison of those sútras, as they stand in A B, with the same sútras, as C D have them, shows that at the period, when the text contained in C D was written, all unaspirate consonants (exc. ड *ḍ* and ट *ṭ*), whether surd or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether surd or sonant (exc. palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to ह *h*. I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sútras II, 1*a*, 1*b*, 1*c*, the texts of C and D are nearly identical. There is a much greater difference between the texts of A and B. The latter (MS. B) contains some additional matter, one part of which is peculiar to B, while the other it has in common with C and D. On the other hand, A has nothing in common with C D, which does not also occur in B. Though, therefore, the texts of A and B are substantially the same, yet B occupies a slightly intermediate position between A on the one hand, and C D on the other. The general result, thus, is that the original grammar of Chaṇḍa presents a very old phase of the Prákrit language, and that the MS. A contains that grammar in its oldest and most genuine form; but that this grammar has undergone at various periods, more (in C D) or less (in B) thorough-going revisions.

I, 1, 7.); the latter has षि (Ṣ. C. I, 1. 7). Chaṇḍa's *sanjñá* ष *ṣa* is perhaps somewhat anomalous; for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add *u* or *varga* to a consonant in order to form a *sanjñá* (*e. g.*, कु or कवर्ग for the guttural class). This may have been one of the reasons for the alteration of the Revisionists. But it is possible that Chaṇḍa's term may really have been ष or षि; in sútra III, 4, MS. B reads षो, which is given as the substitute for षौ (षौ); and षौ would be the locative of ष or षि; see the footnote of sútra III, 4.

If that had been all, there would not have been much reason for complaint. Unfortunately, the Revisionists have not been content with merely revising or rather recasting and enlarging Chaṇḍa's grammar; but while leaving the framework, as it were, of the rules of Chaṇḍa untouched, they have attempted to adjust his grammar to a later phase of the language, by altering the spelling of the Prákrit words and forms, occurring in it, so as to bring them in agreement with that later phase. The result in some cases is very ludicrous. Thus according to Chaṇḍa's rule III, 11 थ *th* changes to ध *dh*; by way of illustration the Revisionists make नाथः *náthaḥ* to change into नाहो *náho*. Again according to the rule III, 34 च *ch*, त *t*, प *p* are not elided; by way of illustration we have सुई *suí* for शुचिः *ṣuchiḥ*, वाओ *váo* for वातः *vataḥ*, नेउरं *neuraṃ* for नूपुरं *núpuraṃ*, in direct defiance of rule III, 12. The ignoring of those three rules, indeed, has been consistently carried out throughout the grammar.* It was impossible to print the text together with all these inconsistencies; and it became necessary to restore the original text, as far as it could be done with safety.

In reference to some of the most important cases of restoration, I shall now explain the reasons that have guided me. In the case of others of minor importance my reasons for preferring a particular spelling will be found in the footnotes to the English translation. One important case of restoration regarding the sibilants has been already explained (see pp. IX, X). With regard to these restorations, though I conceive that they could not be avoided in a scientific edition of the text and though I have given, of course, what after mature consideration of all relevant circumstances, appeared to me to have the greatest probability, I can well foresee, and there is undoubtedly room for, difference of opinion. But considering the difficulties of the case, perhaps I may venture to hope an indulgent consideration of the results such as they are. A more generally satisfactory settlement of the text must wait for more and better MSS., especially of the older text, or for a more competent editor than myself.†

* Another instance is sútra II, 10, according to which the nominative singular of *i*-bases should end with a short *i*; but one of the examples given is *buddhí* for *buddhi*. Similarly according to sútras I, 3 and I, 7 the instrumental plural in Prákrit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the exception of Sansk. *bhis* becoming Prák. *hi*; the examples, however, are *aggíhi*, *mahúhi* for *aggihi*, *mahuhi* = Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, *madhubhiḥ*. ... the further remarks in the Sketch of Chaṇḍa's Grammar.

† As to the possibility or probability of such revisions of old texts by later hands, ...ote Jacobi's remarks in his Introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa ... "it has been considered as a proof of the priority of Buddhism that Páli ... language than the Prákrit of the Jainas. The fact is true, but it proves ...he form of the Jaina sútras was fixed only one thousand years after ...h. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the ...útras underwent great alterations in consequence of the natural tendency

(1). With regard to my restoration in the text of the surd consonants, my reasons were briefly the following :—

First.—There is (as already noticed on p. xi) the direct evidence of sûtras III, 11 and 34, which, admitting only the elision of *k* and reduction of *kh*, by implication enjoins the retention of the other surds.

Second.—The most authentic information that we have as to the state of the oldest Indian Vernacular, in rock-inscriptions, &c., shows that, *as a rule,* the surd consonants were retained, while the sonants might be elided; precisely what Chaṇḍa's rules III, 12, 34 indicate.

Third.—It will be seen from the critical footnotes to the text, that the MSS. A and B in a few cases still retain an original त *t*. Thus in II, 26 A B read भे हतं । त्वया हतं ॥ Originally, I think, the example must have stood भे कतं । त्वया हतं ॥ The copyist, not recognising कतं as a Prákrit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into हतं. The Revisionists of C and D, on the other hand, recognising the old Prákrit form कतं, but objecting to it on the score of obsoleteness, changed it into the correct later Prákrit form कयं. This appears much more probable than to assume that the scribe of A and B, finding कदं (or even कयं) in his original, changed it into हतं. On this view, it must be admitted that the Revisionists of A and B, while carrying through their modernisation of the spelling of their text, occasionally overlooked a word and left it standing in its old dress. That, however, is nothing to be wondered at. To us it is a cause of congratulation, as it helps restoring the original text.

Fourth.—Even as regards the Revisionists of C and D; it is easier to understand their modernizing, *e. g.*, कतं into कयं, than कदं; for though कतं could not possibly have been later Prákrit, कदं might have been so. If they had found कदं or पच्छदि (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prákrit is not altogether unknown; but if they found कतं or पच्छति, they could not do otherwise but change it into कयं and पच्छइ, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day.

Fifth.—Chaṇḍa's rules merely state facts as facts, without defining the range of their applicability; some of the rules are compulsory, others are not so; but whether they are or are not so, does not appear on the face of the rule. Thus rule III, 16, although it might appear so at first sight, is undoubtedly not compulsory; it enjoins the change of न *n* to ण *ṇ*; but as a matter of fact, an initial न *n* never changes to ण *ṇ*, and even a medial न *n* does so only in comparatively exceptional cases. The rule, in fact, states an *exceptional* fact; but as it *is* a fact, the fact is duly noticed, though no intimation is given as to

of those who handed down the sûtras by oral tradition or writing to substitute current idioms for antiquated forms," see also *ibidem*, pp. 19, 20, also pp. 15, 16, 17.

its frequency, whether it is constant or only occasional.* The case of rule III, 12 is similar; it states several facts, some of which are exceptional, while others are nearly constant. Thus, in the face of rule III, 34, there can be little question, but that the change of क *k* to ग *g* was a comparatively exceptional occurrence; on the other hand the change of ट *ṭ* to ड *ḍ* must have been comparatively constant. It follows, therefore, that, as to the change of त *t* to द *d*, and of प *p* to व *v*, the rule does not necessarily imply invariability. What the amount of its frequency may have been, must be judged from other considerations; and for the reasons given under Nos. 2, 3, 4, it seems to me, that the change must have been a comparatively exceptional one, *i. e.*, as a rule त *t* and प *p* were retained. On the other hand, the retention of क *k* must have been comparatively exceptional; as a rule it was elided or, less frequently, changed to ग *g*.

Sixth.—In sútra II, 22 there is an undesigned coincidence which very strikingly proves the truth of my restorations. Among the substitutes of *vat* "like", there is also mentioned *jahá*. Now *jahá* is clearly the same as the Sanskrit *yathá*. If at the time of the language of the Grammar, it had been the universal practice to reduce a surd aspirated थ *th* to ह *h*, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word *jahá* for particular notice. But if थ *th* at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to ध *dh*, then *jahá* would at once become an exceptional form requiring particular notice. The Revisionists when remodelling Chaṇḍa's grammar and reducing (according to the practice of their day) every *th* to *h*, failed to notice the inconsistency of permitting *jahá* to remain in the sútra. Not so Hemachandra; he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sútra into his grammar (see H. C. II, 182), omitted *jahá*.†

There is, in sútra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chaṇḍa the surd unaspirates were not usually subject to elision. In that sútra it is ruled that the Sanskrit *iti* "thus" changes in Prákrit to *iya*. If it had been usual at that time to elide all surd unaspirates, there would have been no need to say anything more in the sútra than that the

* The rule also enjoins the change of the dental consonants into palatal or cerebral. As it occurs in that part of the grammar which applies to single consonants, the rule as it stands would seem to apply to *all* single dental consonants. As a matter of fact, however, it has a very limited range and chiefly applies to such single dental consonants as had originally formed part of a particular compound. This circumstance is, no doubt, connected with the peculiar plan on which Chaṇḍa's Grammar is drawn, and which has been briefly noticed on p. VIII and will be fully explained afterwards in the Analysis of his Grammar.

† This is one of the indications (of which some more will be noticed afterwards) of the posteriority of Hemachandra to Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists.

final *i* of *iti* changes to *a*. Now this is precisely what Hemachandra in his grammar (see H. C. I, 91) does. In his time, it had long since become usual to elide a medial त *t*; accordingly, seeing that Chaṇḍa's sútra stated more than was needed, he reformulated it so as to omit what was superfluous. Chaṇḍa's Revisionists, however, were again, *more suo*, not so wise as Hemachandra, but allowed Chaṇḍa's sútra to keep its original wording.

It is much to be regretted that the Revisionists did not always act with such inconsistency. But though in a few cases, and those not unimportant ones, it can hardly be doubted but that they did venture to tamper with the sútras,* yet happily as a rule they contented themselves with the less objectionable process of only remodelling the commentary.

Seventh.—Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that Chaṇḍa spelled his words with the hard unaspirates. In later times, as is known from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, hard dentals (त) were, as a rule, elided, while hard labials (प) were generally softened (व). Accordingly one would expect the revision of Chaṇḍa, made by the authors of C and D, to conform to the later practice. On examination, it will be found that that is so. I have counted all cases of hard unaspirates in that portion of Chaṇḍa which is common to all four MSS. There are altogether 50 instances of the hard denta' (त); among these, C D elide it 47 times, soften it twice and retain it once.† Of the hard labial (प) there are 10 cases; among these C D elide it only once, in the remaining nine cases they soften it (to व).‡ But further, having thus changed the original spelling, the Revisionists could not help observing that the result was inconsistent with the express rule III, 34 of the grammar they were revising. Hence to allow of their eliding the hard dentals (and the hard unaspirates

* These are, strictly speaking, only sútras I, 16, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS. agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sútras, my restored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS.; thus, of B in sútra I, 21 and in III, 23, of A B in I, 19, 20, II, 14, 19, 21, III, 2, 13, 22, 34.

† The softenings are, कदं in the special sútra III, 11 and हवदि in the Mágadhí sútra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the sútra. The retention is in पत्तातं in sútra I, 23. A retains त in 4 cases (I, 23, II, 2, 26. III, 39), and B in 5 cases (I, 23. II, 26. III, 9. 23. 39). These retentions are doubtlessly mere oversights.

‡ The solitary case of elision is नेउरं, which I am inclined to think a very old exceptional case; perhaps already existing in Chaṇḍa's time. It is however worth noting, that C spells नेवुरं in II, 4 (confirmed by the marginal gloss); though it has नेउरं in III, 34. In one case (पुणर् अपि II, 10) D retains प; so also A once (रूपं I, 17); these are probably mere oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains प (III, 3), and A B once retain ठ (I, 3 पीठं). [N. B.—पुणरवि in the Text, p. 16, is a misprint for पुणरपि.]

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that sútra (compare the terms of sútra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sútra in the Text); and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (प) notwithstanding the revised terms of sútra III, 34, they further altered the terms of sútra III, 22 (from यवयोर् व्यत्यासः to पवयोर् व्य०) and inserted an altogether new sútra (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sútras. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists; compare H. C. I, 177, 231, and Vr. II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of sútra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sútra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sútra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *kh* in sútra III, 13 and subsuming it under sútra III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*; thus, in the examples of sútra III, 11, they change both थ *th* and ख *kh* to ह *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *kh* in sútra III, 13 is superfluous; accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it; they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of sútra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sútra III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order; compare H. C. I, 187, 236 and Vr. II, 27, 26.

(2). Another restoration is the form *tumbhe* in sútra I, 21. Here C and D read *tumhe jasi*. That *tumhe* cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3, I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the sútra. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbhe* and B reads *tumbhe;* but in sútra I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbhe* and B *tumbhe.* Chaṇḍa cannot possibly have written the same word in both sútras; that would be contrary to the whole genius of sútra-writing; if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but *one* sútra: *tubbhe* (or *tumbhe*) *jassasoḥ.* In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS. A and B the conjuncts *mbh, bbh* and *jjh* are perpetually confused; the two symbols ब्भ or म्भ* being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells जिब्भा for

* Once or twice also ज्भ and म्भ; these are clearly only due to careless writing.

सिब्भा III, 2, जिब्भा for जिज्भा III, 1, वब्भो for वज्भो III, 20; सब्भवं for सम्भव III, 8, मब्भ for मज्भ I, 30. There is a simple explanation for this confusion. In the Jaina Prákrit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them.* There can be very little doubt, that the MSS. A and B were copied from an original MS. written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sútras I, 21 and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Nágarí symbol. Since however the two sútras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols. The question is, which were they, from among the three. As to sútra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy; it must have contained the symbol for *bbh*. For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sútra I, 22 (and also in I, 3 where the word re-occurs). On this point C and D may be trusted; the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters; the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing; and both C and D never confound the symbol for *bbh* with those for *jjh* or *mbh*. The case is more complicated as to sútra I, 21. Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have a different reading. Yet indirectly their reading *tumhe* declares for *tumbhe* having been the original one. For it is easier to conceive that *tumbhe* has been modified into *tumhe* than that *tujjhe* should have done so. Even at the present day *mh* and *mbh* constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars. In Hindí, *e. g.*, *thámhai* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thámbhai*. For these reasons I have adopted the spelling *tumbhe* in I, 21, and *tubbhe* in I, 22.

(3). For some important restorations in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in *i* and *u*, in the Sketch of Chaṇḍa's Grammar.

The subject of the restorations in Chaṇḍa's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar. If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chaṇḍa are correct, it would follow that his Prákrit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Páli. This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chaṇḍa's grammar. Here it will suffice to point out, that Chaṇḍa's Prákrit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Páli. It agrees

* The close resemblance of the symbol for *mbh* to those for *bbh* and *jjh* is strikingly shown in sútra III, 2, where C appears to read *sijjhá* and D *sibbhá* for *simbhá*.

with Páli, in retaining, as a rule, the surd consonants, aspirate and unaspirate; but it differs from Páli in eliding, as a rule, the sonant unaspirates and reducing to *h* the sonant aspirates; the surd gutturals being treated in both languages respectively after the analogy of the sonants. Still, if the MSS. may be trusted, there is one very striking instance in which Chaṇḍa's Prákrit represents an older phonetic stage than even Páli. This is the accusative singular of feminine nouns in *á*, *í* and *ú*, and of the first and second personal pronouns. Here Chaṇḍa's Prákrit agrees with Sanskrit in preserving the long vowel (see I, 3), while Páli as well as the later Prákrit shorten it; *e. g.*, Skr. and Ch. *gañgám*, but Pá. and Pr. *gañgaṃ*; Skr. *nadíṃ*, Ch. *naíṃ*, but Pá. *nadiṃ*, Pr. *naïṃ*; Skr. *máṃ* "me", Ch. *máṃ*, but Pá. *maṃ*, Pr. *maṃ*. Both Vararuchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prákrit (see Vr. V, 21. H. C. III, 36); so also Kachchayana for the Páli (see Kach. II, 1, 33, p. 49), while there is no trace of any such rule in Chaṇḍa; a fact which strongly makes for the correctness of the forms given in I, 3.*

It may now be asked, what language this old Prákrit of Chaṇḍa may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the *Árshaṃ* of Hemachandra (H. C. I, 2. IV, 287). By "ársha" Hemachandra understands the language, spoken (as he says) by the *Rishis*†, or (as he says in IV, 287) the *old* language. With regard to this Arsha Prákrit Hemachandra expressly states in his rule I, 3, that it cannot be brought under strict rules‡, and that all its rules are *permissive* only, not compulsory§. This exactly agrees with what I have had already occasion to point out (see p. XIII), that Chaṇḍa's rules are only permissive; *i. e.*, they merely state facts without defining their constancy or variability; they may or may not be acted upon according to circumstances which must be ascertained from other sources than the rule itself. Again after giving in IV, 287 the ordinary Mágadhí Prákrit rule, that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *e*, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old *(poráṇaṃ)* or ársha

* The rule Kach. II, 1, 33 does not apply to fem. nouns in *á*; those are provided for by rule II, 1, 32. Now Chaṇḍa's sútra II, 1 corresponds to Kach. II, 1, 32, and it might be supposed that Ch. II, 1 would similarly necessitate the shortening of *á*. That was evidently the opinion of the Revisionists of C D, who write *gañgam* and *tam*, but *naím*. But it is very improbable that in Chaṇḍa's Prakrit *í* should have remained long, while *á* was shortened. Either all three (*á*, *í*, *ú*) were shortened or none was shortened. Now that *í* and *ú* were not shortened, is admitted even by the Revisionists. The fact is, Ch. II, 1 is formulated so as to allow the very forms *gañgám*, *tvám*; for these are due to sandhi (*gangá* + *am*, *tva* + *am*).

† *Ṛshíṇám idam árshaṃ.*

‡ H. C. I, 3. *árshaṃ prákṛitam bahulam bhavati.*

§ H. C. I, 3. *árshe hi sarve vidhayo vikalpyante.*

Prákrit, in common with the Árddhamágadhí Prákrit which it follows, agrees with the Mágadhí in regard to the termination of the nominative singular, but not in any other respect. Then he goes on to quote, as an example of the Árddhamágadhí, the phrase *kayare ágachchhaï* "which of the two has come." The *poráṇa* or *ársha* form of it would be, *katare ágachchhati.** Now this is the very example, which is given in Chaṇḍa's grammar, to illustrate his rule II, 10, that the nom. sing. may end in *e*. It would thus appear from Hemachandra's statement, that by the term *ársha* he understands that ancient *(poráṇa)* form of the Prákrit language which included what in his day was called the Árddhamágadhí, and which, while agreeing with the Mágadhí as regards the termination *e* of the nom. sing., but differing from it with regard to the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ* (H. C. 4, 288) and some other minor points peculiar to Mágadhí, was in all other respects identical with the so-called Máháráshṭrí. Or to put it in another way: Árddhamágadhí is the same as Máháráshṭrí in all respects, except the nom. sing. in *e*, which peculiarity it shares with the Mágadhí; on the other hand Mágadhí is identical with Árddhamágadhí in all respects, except the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ* (omitting minor points) which are peculiar the former. If we now substitute the short name Ársha in the place of Árddhamágadhi *plus* Máhárásḥṭrí (of which jointly the Ársha is simply the ancient form), we have an exact statement of the facts as represented in Chaṇḍa's Grammar. He speaks of four Prákrits, *viz.*, the Prákrit, the Mágadhí, the Paiṣáchí and the Apabhraṃṣa. He omits all mention of the so-called Máhárásḥṭrí and Ṣaurasení; further his rules on *the* Prákrit substantially contain everything, commonly ascribed to the Máhárásḥṭrí Prákrit, with the addition however of the nom. sing. in *e*; while he makes his Mágadhí to differ from his Prákrit with regard to the changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ*. It thus seems to me very clear, that the Prákrit of Chaṇḍa is the *ársha* or ancient *(poráṇa)* form of the Árddhamágadhí, Máhárásḥṭrí and Ṣaurasení.†

* Hemachandra's words are: *yad api "poráṇam addhamágahabhásániyayam havaï suttam" ity ádiná árshasya árdhamágadhabhásháníyatatvam ámnáyi vṛddhais tad api práyo 'sya eva vidhánát, na vakshyamáṇalakshaṇasya*; *i. e.*, "what has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Árddhamágadhí,' that may be also understood of the present rule (viz. H. C. 4, 287), but of that rule only, not of the succeeding ones." Jacobi's interpretation of this important passage, if I understand it rightly, somewhat differs from mine; though the general tenor is the same. (See *Kalpa Sútra*, p. 17.) I do not think Jacobi has quite caught Hemachandra's meaning. Hemachandra does not wish to contradict the old tradition, but only guard his own grammar against a wrong interpretation of it. "Rightly understood", he means to say, "the old tradition confirms my grammar, for it refers only to the first rule, not to the whole of my chapter on Mágadhí."

† As a minor evidence of Chaṇḍa's Prákrit being the Ársha, I may mention the

It would at the same time seem to be proved by Chaṇḍa's Grammar, that at that early period, the later division into Árddhamágadhí, Mahárásh ṭrí and Ṣauraseni probably did not yet exist; but that these three later subdivisions originally formed but one great language, which was looked upon as *the* (standard) Prákrit. By the side of this great or standard Prákrit, however, there existed two other Prákrits of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard Prákrit, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser Prákrits were the Mágadhí and the Apabhraṃṣa. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of *r* and *s* to *l* and *ṣ* respectively; that of the latter was the retention of *r* as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the Prákrits in Chaṇḍa's time is very clearly shown by his Grammar (comp. III, 37, 39). The question is, is it possible to fix historically the time when that was the case. I believe we have in the language of the famous Rock-inscriptions of Aṣoka the means of approximately fixing the date. I cannot do better than quote on this subject the remarks of General A. Cunningham in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 43.* "The Inscriptions of Aṣoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B. C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was *essentially the same*† throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya, from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some *marked points of difference*, which show that there were *at least three distinct varieties* of Páli (or Prákrit) in the time of Aṣoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the Panjábí or north-western dialect, the Ujjení or middle dialect, and the Mágadhí or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the Panjábí or the dialect of North-Western India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined *r*"; that of the Mágadhí or the eastern dialect is "the entire want of the letter *r*, for which *l* is uniformly substituted." (Corp. I. I. pp. 43, 44.) If we substitute Apabhraṃṣa for General Cunningham's Panjábí, we have almost the very words of Chaṇḍa's Grammar. It would be, however, going too far, I think, to ascribe that Grammar to the third century B. C. Probably it was com-

fact, that certain forms which are expressly noted by Hemachandra as peculiar to the Ársha, are given as ordinary forms by Chaṇḍa; e. g., *kaṭṭu* II, 19, cf. H. C. II, 146; *suhumam* or *suhamam* III, 30, cf. H. C. II, 101, 113, etc.

* See, however, Lassen's similar remarks in his *Indian Antiquities*, vol. II, p. 221 (quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, pp. 109, 132).

† The italics in the extract are mine.

Inscriptions with l and r and ś

Subjoint

Boundary of Eastern and Western Prakrit

Subdivisions of

Shahbazgarhi

N

Khalsi

Delhi

Bairat

W

Allahabad

C

Bharhut

Sahasaram

Barabar

Sanchi

Rupnath

Ramgarh

E

Girnar

Deotek

MK

Khandagiri

Dhauli

Jaugada

S

M

A

K

Mk Maha Kosala

M = Maharashtra

A Andhra

K Kalinga

N = Northern India

W Western India

C Central India

E Eastern India

S = Southern India

MAP
OF
INDIA
SHEWING THE
DISTRIBUTION
OF THE
PRAKRIT LANGUAGES
IN
B C. 300—1.

Lith. & Printed by W. Newman & Co. Calcutta

posed at a somewhat later time; for the elision of the sonant unaspirates and the reduction to *h* of the sonant aspirates appear to have been a much more generally prevailing practice in the language of the time of Chaṇḍa, than in that of the time of Aṣoka, as exhibited in his Rock-inscriptions.*

As to the Paiṣáchí, mentioned by Chaṇḍa in III, 38, it is provided for by the term "at least" in the above quoted extract from General Cunningham's work. My view of the Paiṣáchí, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prákrit, as pronounced or rather mis-pronounced by the aboriginal population.

An attempt may now be made, with the help of the known localities of the Inscriptions, to approximately determine the boundaries of the areas, respectively occupied by the Prákrit languages, named by Chaṇḍa. One of the principal peculiarities of the Mágadhí or Eastern Prákrit, mentioned by Chaṇḍa, is the substitution of *l* for *r*.† This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Mirat, Lauriya, Sahasarám, Barábar, Rámagaṛh, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (see Map) ‡ At Bairát, one inscription shows it, the other does not; and the same is the case at Allahábád. If, therefore, a line be drawn from Khalsi, southward to Bairát, thence eastward to Allahábád and again southward by Rámagaṛh to Jaugaḍa, that line will be the approximate boundary between the Eastern or Mágadhí, and the Western or Chaṇḍa's Standard Prákrit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prákrit, on the other hand, occupies the south-western half of Central India, the whole of Western India and an indefinite part of Southern India, probably down to the southern limits of the Maháráshṭra, Andhra and Kalinga kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhraṃṣa Prákrit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Sháhbázgaṛhí Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chaṇḍa to that Prákrit, *viz.* the retention of the subjoined *r*. Further Chaṇḍa mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prákrit, the nominative singular sometimes ends with an *e*, sometimes with an *o*. Now the Inscriptions at Sanchi and Rúpanáth show the termination *e*, while

* Professor Jacobi, in the introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa Sútra, mentions another sign of the old vernacular, which appears to be borne out by Chaṇḍa's grammar. "A trace of a still older phase of the language (than Jaina Prákrit) is the optional insertion of a vowel between two consonants incapable of assimilation" (see p. 19, also p. 4). This seems to be indicated by Chaṇḍa's sútra III, 30.

† With regard to the other peculiarity of substituting the palatal *ṣ* for the dental *s*, the Inscriptions seem to give no evidence; except one of them at Rámagaṛh, which has *ṣ* throughout.

‡ This map is based on the frontispiece-maps in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, and his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I.

those of Girnár, Deotek and Khandagiri have *o*. Thus a line drawn from Bairát, in a south-easterly direction towards Deotek and thence eastward to the Mágadhí area, will approximately divide the *e*-area of the Western Prákrit from its *o*-area. The former of these two areas may be described as that of, what was afterwards called, the Árddhamágadhí Prákrit, because this Prákrit possesses the termination *e* in common with the Mágadhí. The other subdivisional area will, then, be that of, what in later times come to be called, the Máháráshṭrí and Ṣaurasení Prákrits. The Paiṣáchí must have been current in the southern half of Central India and in the whole of Southern India, in the wild regions to the north and south of the Vindhya range of mountains.

Another chronological question, on which the foregoing investigations throw some light, is that of the relative age of Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists with regard to the two other well-known Prákrit Grammarians, Vararuchi and Hemachandra. As regards the latter, I have already (p. xiv) incidentally shown grounds for believing that he must have been acquainted with Chaṇḍa's Grammar, in the recension of the Revisionists. Indeed, as to Chaṇḍa's Grammar generally, that is almost capable of demonstration. In his sútra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns *idaṃ*, *tad*, *etad* assume the form *se* in the genitive singular and the form *siṃ* in the genitive plural; but he adds that "another Grammarian allows the form *se* also in the genitive plural of the two pronouns *idam* and *tad*".* The singular number "another Grammarian" is noteworthy. It cannot refer to Vararuchi; because the latter (VII, 11, 12) agrees with Hemachandra in the distribution of the forms *se* and *siṃ* to the singular and plural respectively; and moreover Vararuchi allows those forms only to the pronoun *tad*. On the other hand, Hemachandra's remark exactly agrees with Chaṇḍa's statement in his sútra I, 17, that "the two pronouns *tad* and *idaṃ* assume the form *se* in the genitive of both the singular and plural".† The coincidence is too striking to be merely accidental. Of course, this would leave it still an open question, whether or not Hemachandra is prior to the Revisionists of Chaṇḍa. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that the latter must be placed earlier than Hemachandra. It is true, that most of the additional matter in C and D, is also found in Hemachandra's Grammar, in some cases expressed in the very same words. But the manner of its arrangement and wording seem clearly to show, that it is original in C D, and that Hemachandra in writing his own grammar drew on the text of C D rather than that the latter rearranged and modified Hemachandra's rules. Thus the wording of some rules in CD is very inaccurate, as compared with the corresponding rule in

* *Idam-tador ámápi se ádeṣam kaṣchid ichchhati*, H. C. III, 81.

† *Tadidamoḥ se shashṭhí-rúpáṇám*, Ch. I, 17.

Hemachandra (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 6*a* with H. C. III, 14, 24). Some old Prákrit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13*a*, 13*b*) are subsumed by Hemachandra under another rule (H. C. III, 137).* Many peculiar forms, mentioned by C D as belonging to the ordinary Prákrit, are referred by Hemachandra to the Apabhraṃṣa dialect (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 27*l* with H. C. IV, 444). All this is hardly likely to have been done by any one working with Hemachandra's grammar before his eyes; whereas it is natural that Hemachandra, having before him the text of C D and noticing its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, should have set about remodelling and rearranging it.† The only evidence of any moment, which seems to make for the priority of Hemachandra is the sútra I, 16, where the Revisionists have elided the *d*, while Hemachandra in his corresponding sútra III, 8 still preserves it. But the evidence on the other side seems to me much stronger, and I think it, therefore, more probable, that the text of C and D, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemachandra. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS. D, with its peculiar additions of sútras II, 1*a*, 1*b*, 1*c*, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding sútras in Hemachandra are I, 5, 6, 8. Two of them, indeed, *viz.*, I, 6 and I, 8, are, word for word, the same as Ch. II, 1*a* and I, 1*b*. But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed. Sútra II, 1*b* in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 8, while II, 1*c* in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 6. That Hemachandra's order is the correct one follows from the fact, that the negative particle *na* "not", which must be understood in sútra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sútra-works, supplied from the *preceding* sútra I, 6. On the other hand in MS. D, the sútra II, 1*b*, as it is not preceded by any sútra containing the negative particle, remains simply unintelligible, unless, contrary to the well-established practice, the negative particle is supplied from the succeeding

* It may be noted that the omission of all mention of these old Prákrit forms in the text of the MS. A B makes for the antiquity of the latter. For it shows that in their time these forms were not "old" or obsolete, but fresh and living, and called for no special remark.

† Many other evidences for the priority of C and D with regard to Hemachandra will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation. I will mention here only one. Supposing that Hemachandra knew the text of C and D, he could not help noticing the discrepancy between its sútras III, 34 and III, 12. What more natural than to accept sútra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prákrit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sútra III, 12 under it as an exception? Now this is, what Hemachandra actually has done; (see H. C. I, 177 and compare the examples). This, at all events, is a much more probable explanation of the circumstances, than to suppose the reverse to have taken place. See also the footnote on p. xiv.

sútra. This appears to me to be conclusive as to the priority of Hemachandra. It might be thought, at first sight, that the fact, that Hemachandra's sútra IV, 353 is found in MS. C, but not in MS. D, goes to prove similarly that the text of C also is later than Hemachandra. But I think it exceedingly probable that the omission of that sútra in D is quite accidental, perhaps even a mere error of the writer of my copy. For omitting from D the sútras II, 1*a*, 1*b*, 1*c* which are undoubtedly drawn from Hemachandra I, 5, 6, 8, MS. D has only *one* sútra less than MS. C, and as the text of the two is otherwise nearly identical, it is more than probable that sútra I, 11*a* ought to be supplied in D.* As regards the relative age of Vararuchi and Chaṇḍa, the indications seem sufficiently marked to attempt a decision. The treatment of the ablative suffixes *do* and *du* in Vr. V, 6 as compared with their treatment by the Revisionists in I, 16, makes it certain, that Vararuchi is earlier than the Revisionists, who possibly may have been guided by his grammar in making their revisions of Chaṇḍa. The strange circumstance that the Revisionists, though evidently men of the Jain community, yet, contrary to the practice of Jaina Prákrit, changed *every* dental *n* to cerebral *ṇ*, seems to be strongly confirmatory of an influence on them by the absolute rule (II, 42) of Vararuchi's grammar. Hemachandra's rules (I, 228, 229), undecided as they are, could not have influenced them. (See remarks on p. xxv). On the other hand the terms of Vr. II, 2 as compared with those of Ch. III, 34 in MSS. A and B, would seem to make it equally certain, that Vararuchi was later than Chaṇḍa. But as to whether he was acquainted with Chaṇḍa's work, there is too little evidence to form an opinion. On the whole, I should think it improbable.

A SKETCH OF CHAṆḌA'S GRAMMAR,

Compared with those of Vararuchi and Hemachandra.

1, Vowels.

The vowel system does not materially differ from that of the ordinary Prákṛit. But many of the peculiarities of the latter do not yet show themselves in the earlier Prákrit of Chaṇḍa.

In common with the later, the old Prákrit does not possess the following Sanskrit vowels; *ṛi* (II, 5), *ai* (II, 6), *au* (II, 8) and the protracted (*pluta*, II, 14). Nothing is said regarding *ṛí*, *ḷri*, *ḷṛí*, but they seem to be included in the term *ṛvarṇasya* (II, 5).

* A similar accidental omission of sútra I, 15 has occurred in the case of MS. B.

Instead of *ṛi*, either the syllable *ri* or any other vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*) may be used, according to circumstances (II, 5).

Instead of *ai* either *aï* or *e*, and instead of *au* either *aü* or *o*, may be used, according to circumstances (II, 6-9) : but not *i*, *í* and *u*, as in later Prákrit.

With regard to the changes of those vowels which the old Prákrit possesses, there are the following two broad laws :

1. *A long vowel* (*á*, *í*, *ú*) *preceding a conjunct consonant is shortened* (*a*, *i*, *u*), II, 3. Hemachandra's rule, H. C. I, 84, corresponds to this ; Vararuchi has no corresponding rule, see Cowell, p. 185.

2. *The final vowel of the former part of a compound word is dropped, if the initial vowel of the latter part is followed by a conjunct consonant* (II, 2) ; e. g., *deva* + *indra* would in Sanskrit be *devendra*, but in the Ársha the final *a* of *deva* is elided, hence the compound is *devinda*.* There is nothing corresponding to this rule in either Vararuchi or Hemachandra ; they apparently did not acknowledge it. But evidences of the change to which the rule refers are by no means uncommon, even in the later Jaina Prákrit ; thus in the Bhagavatí occur *yoguraoe* = Skr. *yogopayogaḥ*, *appusue* = Skr. *alpotsukaḥ*, *paḍuppanna* = Skr. *prati-utpanna*, *sattuttaraṃ* = Skr. *saptottaraṃ*, (see Weber's edition, pp. 386, 106, 108, 127).

On the other hand the later Prákrit changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* (Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116) are unknown to Chaṇḍa. Thus we have *giṇhati* in Ch III, 23 for *geṇhai* in H. C IV, 209.

For the rest, *vowels are liable to a great variety of interchanges*, and that, whether they occur in a single word (II, 4) or when they occur at the point of junction in a compound word or even at the point of contact of two words in a sentence (II, 1). It is this miscellany of changes, summed up by Chaṇḍa in two short rules (I, 1, 4), the separate enumeration of which in distinct rules has given rise to the great expansion of the chapter on vowels in the Grammars of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. It is quite possible, however, that a few of the interchanges, noted by the latter, did not yet obtain in the earlier Prákrit.

2, Consonants.

With regard to the Consonants, there are five points in which the older Prákrit of Chaṇḍa differs from its later forms, as exhibited in Vararuchi and Hemachandra.

1. The preservation of the dental *n*, in every case, whether single or double, whether initial or medial in a word. This follows from sútra II, 14

* Hemachandra mentions this very word in an Ársha sentence, *devindo iṇaṃ abbavi* see H. C. III, 162.

The other consonants of the Sanskrit system, which the old Prákrit possesses, are subject to the following laws :

a, *Single Consonants.*

1, Final consonants are either dropped or changed to anusvára or preserved by the addition of the vowel *a* (II, 11. III, 33). In Vararuchi and Hemachandra these cases are particularised in a number of separate sútras (Vr. IV, 6—12. H. C. I, 11—24).

2, Medial sonant unaspirate mute consonants are elided, (III, 34), though there are occasional exceptions (III, 30, C D II, 26).

3, Medial sonant aspirates are reduced to *h* (III, 13).

4, Initial *g* is once (in *gharaṃ*) said to become *gh* (III, 20).

5, [In those cases, where *j* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct *(jñ)*, it becomes *n* (III, 19)].

6, *ḍ* sometimes changes to *l* (III, 21). Only one example (*solasa*) is given, but it is probably meant as a type of others. In later times, at all events, this change was not uncommon; see C D III, 21. Vr. II, 23. H. C. I, 202.

7, *ṇ* changes to *n* in Paiṣáchí (III, 38).

8, Dental consonants (incl. *n*) exceptionally change to the corresponding cerebral (III, 16). [In those cases where they have arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct *(ty, dy, sth,* etc.) they may change to the corresponding palatal or cerebral (III, 16); once (in *khambho)* such a *th* becomes *kh* (III, 19)].

9, Once (in *vammatho*) *m* changes to *v* (III, 21).

10, Initial *y* becomes *j* (III, 15); except in the second personal pronominal base, where it becomes *t* (III, 17). Medial *y* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii); except in the passive where it is changed to *jj* (III, 25), and in those cases in which it is vocalized to *i* and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). [In those cases where *y* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct, it becomes *j* or, exceptionally, *l* (III, 15, 22)]. In *teraha* it is apparently said to become *r* (III, 22); but the same word is explained differently in III, 31.

11, *r* remains unchanged; excepting a few rare cases in which it is said to change to *s* or *ṇ* (III, 18, 20). These exceptions, however, can be explained differently. In the Paiṣáchí and Mágadhí dialects it always changes to *l* (III, 38, 39).

12, *v* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii), excepting those few cases of medial *v*, in which it is vocalized and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). Once (in *rukkho*) it is said to become *r* (III, 22).

13, *s* remains unchanged, excepting a few cases in which it becomes *h* (III, 14). In Mágadhí, however, it always changes to *ṣ* (III, 39). [In those cases where it has arisen from a Sanskrit *sh* or conjunct consonant, it may change to *kh* or *chh* or *h* (III, 14)].

14, *h* remains unchanged; excepting one case (*gharam*) where it is said to become *r* (III, 19). [In those cases where it has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*hy*, *hv*), it changes to *jh* or *bh* (III, 20, 21)].

b, *Conjunct Consonants.*

In the treatment of these the older Prákrit is altogether in accord with the later. They may be dealt with in two ways:—

1, either they may be dissolved by interposing some short vowel (*a* or *i* or *u*), III, 30.

2, or they may be simplified by eliding one of them (III, 1—9) and doubling the other (III, 24, 27).

As regards doubling, an aspirate is reduplicated by means of the corresponding unaspirate (III, 26); and it never takes place in the beginning of a word (III, 28), nor in a few exceptional cases (III, 29).

With regard to elision Chaṇḍa's *formal system* much differs from that used in Vararuchi and Hemachandra, though the *material result* is the same. In the latter Grammarians most conjuncts are changed *bodily* to a single consonant (see Vr. III, 9—66. H. C. II, 1—115); but Chaṇḍa strictly carries out the theory of elision For this purpose he arranges the consonants according to their degree of persistency, thus *r*, *y*, *v*, *l*, *h*, class consonants (incl. nasals), sibilants. Here each consonant resists those preceding it, but gives way to those succeeding it. Thus *r* gives way under all circumstances (III, 9, exc. in the Apabhraṃṣa III, 37); *y* gives way to *v*, *l*, *h*, etc. (III, 1, 2, 3, 5), but not to *r*; *v* gives way to *l* (III, 2) or *h* (III, 1) or the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r* and *y* (III, 2, 9); *l* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r*, *y*, *v* (III, 2, 9); *h* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3), but not to *y* and *v* (III, 1); the class-consonants, including the nasals, give way to the sibilants (III, 4, 6, 8), but not to *r* (III, 3, 5, 9) or *y*, *v*, *l* (III, 3, 5) or *h* (III, 3); lastly a sibilant gives way to no other consonant (III, 2, 4, 8), except to a succeeding *single* class-consonant or nasal (III, 3, 6 in *sk*, *sp*, *shṇ*, *ṣn*, *sñ*, *sm*, *shm*, etc.). This is his principle of elision. But his principle of arranging the sútras is the order of the letters in the alphabet. He commences with the last letter in the alphabet *h* (III, 1), then proceeds to the sibilants and semi-consonants (III, 2); next he takes the class-consonants (III, 3—8); and lastly he gives the peculiar case of *r*, which is always elided (III, 9). The six sútras, referring to the class-consonants, are arranged according to the

principle of the order of the elided letter in the conjunct. First Chaṇḍa gives two rules about eliding the first in the conjunct (III, 3, 4), then one rule about eliding the second in the conjunct (III, 5), lastly three rules about optionally eliding the first or the second (III, 6—8).

After the elision has been made and before the doubling takes place, the remaining single consonants undergo some highly artificial changes. These have been already enumerated under the rules regarding the changes of single consonants where they are indicated by being placed within angular brackets. Here it only remains to add, that when the remaining single consonant happens to be a palatal or cerebral sibilant (ṣ or *sh*), it is *ipso facto* (*i. e.* by silent reference to III, 18) supposed to be changed to the dental *s* and treated as such in regard to the needful change before doubling (see remarks on pp. ix, x). The reason of this will be at once understood, when it is recollected (see p. xxvii), that those two sibilants are the only consonants of the Sanskrit phonetic system (beside ङ *ń* and ञ *ñ*) which do not exist in Prákrit.

It may be well to illustrate Chaṇḍa's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as *lakshmí*, *kṛshṇaṃ*, *spashṭaṃ*, *sthitaḥ*, *vidyá*, *jihvá*, *váhyah*. Here LAKSHMÍ first becomes *lakshí* (by III, 6), then *lashí* (III, 4) or *lasi* (III, 18); next *lachhí* (III, 14), finally lachchhí (III, 24, 26). KṚSHṆAM becomes first *kṛṇaṃ* (III, 6) or *kaṇaṃ* (II, 5), and then *kaṇhaṃ* (III, 23). SPASHṬAM becomes first *pashṭaṃ* (III, 3) or *pushṭaṃ* (II, 4), then *phushṭaṃ* (III, 11, 28), finally *phuṭaṃ* (III, 8); or *pushṭaṃ* may become *puṭaṃ* (III, 8), then *puṭhaṃ* (III, 11), finally *puṭṭhaṃ* (III, 24, 26). STHITAḤ becomes first *thitaḥ* (III, 3), then *ṭhitaḥ* (III, 16, 28), then *ṭhitao* (II, 10), finally *ṭhito* (II, 1). VIDYÁ first becomes *vidá* (III, 5), then *vijá* (III, 16), finally *vijjá* (III, 24, 27). JIHVA' becomes first *jihá* (III, 1), then *jibhá* (III, 21), finally *jibbhá* (III, 24, 26). VA'HYAḤ becomes first *váhaḥ* (III, 1), then *vájhaḥ* (III, 20), then *vájjhaḥ* (III, 24, 26), then *vajjhaḥ* (II, 3), next *vajjhao* (II, 10), finally *vajjho* (II, 1).

It will be now understood from the preceding remarks, why the division of the third chapter of Chaṇḍa's Grammar into two parts, one (III, 1—9) on conjuncts, the other (III, 9—39) on single consonants, is such an important, and even essential, feature of his grammatical arrangement. To abolish that division, as the Revisionists have done, is to destroy its symmetry and coherency.

3, ANUSVÁRA.

The anusvára is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prákrit (II, 15, 11), as in the later (H. C. I, 23—30. Vr. IV, 12—17). It is not only used where it also occurs in Sanskrit; but sometimes it takes

the place of an elided consonant, which may have been either the final of a word (II, 11) or the first part of a conjunct (II, 15); or again it may be added at the end of a word for the mere sake of euphony (II, 15).

4, Visarga.

The visarga in the older Prákrit, as in the later, is never tolerated (II, 10). It is either dropped altogether or changed into *o* or *e* or *r*. The change to *o* or *e* occurs, *e. g.*, in the nominative singular, that to *r* in *puṇarapi* (compare H. C. II, 179).

5, Nouns.

The older Prákrit, like the later, has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter (I, 2); but the gender is variable (I, 4). It has also like it, only two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being also used in the place of the Sanskrit dual (II, 12). It further has only six cases, the genitive being used in the place of the dative (II, 13).* The six cases with their case-suffixes are the following, for masculine nouns:

Case	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*o*, *e* (II, 10) or—	— (I, 11) or *ṇo* (I, 12).
Acc.	*aṃ* (I, 3)	*e* or — (I 11, 15), *ṇo* (I, 12)
Intr.	*iṇa* or *ṇá* (I, 3)	*hi* (*hiṃ*) (1, 7).
Abl.	*á*, *to*, *tu*, *hinto* or *ṇo* (I, 12, 16)	*hinto* (I, 8).
Gen.	*ssa* or *ṇo* (I, 13)	*ṇa*, *ha* (*ṇaṃ*, *haṃ*) (I, 5).
Loc.	*e*, *mmi* (I, 14)	*su* (*suṃ*) (I, 3).

N. B.—The forms given after "or" belong to nouns in *i* and *u*, the others are general, except those of the nom., instr., abl. singular and acc. plural and *e* of the loc. sing. which belong to nouns in *a*. The sign (—) means absence of any suffix.

The vocative sing. and voc. plur. are nowhere noticed by Chaṇḍa, which may be explained in two ways, either that their forms were the same as in Sanskrit, or that they were the same as those of the old Prákrit nominative.

Feminine nouns add the same suffixes, except in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., where they take the suffix *e* (I, 9), and in the nom. and acc. plural, where they take the suffixes *o* or *u* or no suffix (I, 10).

Neuter nouns also take the same suffixes, as the masculines, except in the nom. and acc. plural, where they add the suffix *ṇi* (I, 3).

N. B.—Those suffixes which are used independently of the gender of the word Chaṇḍa indicates by the term *lingát parasya* (I, 7, 8), unless where the fact is otherwise obvious (as in I, 3, 5).

* It is one of the clumsy inconsistencies of the Revisionists of C D that they insert the word *sapta* "seven" in the commentary to sútra I, 3. Chaṇḍa had very properly omitted it, as sútra II, 13 shows that Prákrit has only six cases.

In adding these suffixes, the final vowel of the base of the word may undergo the same changes of elision or sandhi as in Sanskrit (I, 3. II, 1), or it may be exchanged with other vowels (II, 4). Thus in the acc. sing. *deva* + *am* = *devaṃ* (II, 1), *aggi* + *am* = *aggiṃ* (II, 1, 4), *dhenu* + *am* = *dhenuṃ* (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p. 3); nom. sing. *deva* + *o* = *devo* (II, 1); *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); inst. sg. *deva* + *iṇa* = *deveṇa* (II, 1); *buddhi* + *e* = *buddhíe* (II, 4); loc. sg. *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); nom. acc. plur. *buddhi* + *o* = *buddhío* (II, 4); inst. pl. *deva* + *hi* = *devehi* (II, 4); loc. plur. *deva* + *su* = *devesu* (II, 4), etc. See also the additional remarks in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's nominal declension.

Prákrit has only three declensions; *viz.* those ending in *a* (or feminine *á*), *i* and *u* (or feminine in *í* and *ú*). Nouns ending in *í* or *ú* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u* (see, e. g., I, 9), but masculines in *í* and *ú* are nowhere especially mentioned by Chaṇḍa. Nouns originally ending in a consonant either drop the final consonant or add *a* to it, so that they come under one of the three declensions in *a* or *i* or *u* (see II, 11). Nouns originally ending in *ṛi* are nowhere noticed by Chaṇḍa, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5, by which *ṛi* would change to *u* and, in some cases, to *ara* or *ára*, as in Páli and the later Prákrit. There is one exceptional declension; *viz.* that of the word *go* "cattle" (II, 16).

a, Declension in *a*.

The nom. sing. ends in *o* or *e* masc., e. g., *devo* or *deve*; *á* fem., e. g., *gangá*; *am* neut., e. g., *kulaṃ*.

The acc. sing. ends in *aṃ* masc. and neut., e. g., *devaṃ*, *kulaṃ*; *áṃ* fem., e. g., *gangáṃ*.

The instr. sing. ends in *eṇa* masc. and neut, e g., *deveṇa*, *kuleṇa*; *áe* fem., e. g., *gangáe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *á* or *áto* or *átu* or *áhinto* masc. and neut., e. g., *devá* or *deváto* or *devátu* or *deváhinto*, *kulá*, etc.; *áe* fem., e. g., *gangáe*. To these forms may be added the abl. made with the suffix *to* (= Sanskrit *taḥ*). It is not noticed by Chaṇḍa, because it is not technically a declensional form. For the same reason it is separately noticed by Kachchayana (II, 5, 1, p. 116). But its existence in the A'rsha is guaranteed by its existence in Páli, and by its existence in the modified form *tto* in the later Prákrit (H. C. III, 8); also by the existence in the A'rsha itself of the pronominal forms *maïtto*, *taïtto* (I, 24, 28).

The gen. sing. ends in *assa* masc. and neut., e. g., *devassa*. Curiously enough the genitive sing. of *a*-bases is nowhere noticed, unless it be indirectly taught by sútra I, 13. The latter was the opinion of the Revisionists; and

it is possible that on that account they may have removed it from I, 3, where one would naturally expect to find it mentioned by Chaṇḍa. Fem. *áe*, e. g., *gangáe.*

The loc. sing. ends in *e* or *ammi* masc. and neut., e. g., *deve* or *devammi*, *kule* or kulammi ; *áe* fem., e. g., *gangáe.*

The nom. plur. ends in *á* masc., e. g., *devá ; áo* or *aü* or *á* fem., e. g., *gangáo, gangáu, gangá ;* neut. *áni* or *áṇi*, e. g., *kuláni* or *kuláṇi.*

The acc. plur. ends in *e* masc., e. g. *deve ; áo* or *áü* or *á* fem., e g., *gangáo, gangáü, gangá ; áni* or *áṇi* neut., e. g., *kuláni* or *kuláṇi.*

The instr. plur. ends in *ehi* or *ehim̱* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devehi*, or *devehim̱, kulehi* or *kulehim̱ ; áhi* or *áhim̱* fem., e. g., *gangáhi* or *gangáhim̱.*

The gen. plur. ends in *áṇa* or *áha* or *áṇam̱* or *áham̱* (II, 15) ; e. g., *deváṇa* or *deváha* or *deváṇam̱* or *deváham̱, gangáṇa*, etc., *kuláṇa*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *esu* or *esum̱* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devesu* or *devesum̱, kulesu* or *kulesum̱ ; ásu* or *ásum̱* fem., e. g., *gangásu* or *gangásum̱.*

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Páli and later Prákrit or Arddha-Mágadhí forms for purposes of comparison.

Masculines in *a.*

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	* Ársha.	Prákrit.*
Sing. Nom.	देवः	देवो	देवो or देवे	देवो or देवे†
Voc.	हे देव	हे देव	हे देव or हे देवो	हे देव or हे देवो
Acc.	देवं	देवं	देवं	देवं
Instr.	देवेन	देवेन	देवेण	देवेण
Abl.	देवात्	देवा	देवा	देवा
	देवतः	देवतो	देवतो	देवत्तो
			देवातो or ०वातु	देवाओ or ०वाउ
	——	देवम्हा or ०स्मा	देवाहिंतो	देवाहिंतो or देवाहि
Gen.	देवस्य	देवस्स	देवस्स	देवस्स
Loc.	देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे
	——	देवम्हि or ०स्मिं	देवम्मि	देवम्मि
Plur. Nom. Voc.	देवाः	देवा	देवा	देवा

* The forms in this column are from Hemachandra's Grammar.

† Arddha-Mágadhí; see H. C. IV, 287.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Acc.	देवान्	देवे	देवे	देवा or देवे
Instr.	देवैः	देवेभि or देवेहि	देवेहि or ०हिं	देवेहि or ०हिं or ०हिँ
Abl.	देवेभ्यः	देवेभि or ०हि	देवेहिंतो	देवेहिंतो or ०सुंतो
	—	—	—	देवाहिंतो or ०सुंतो
Gen.	देवानां	देवानं	देवाणं or देवाण	देवाणं or देवाण
	—	—	देवाणँ or ०ण	देवाणँ or ०ण
Loc.	देवेषु	देवेसु	देवेसु or ०सुं	देवेसु or ०सुं

Feminines in *á*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा
Voc.	गंगे	गंगे	गंगा or गंगे	गंगा or गंगे
Acc.	गंगां	गंगं	गंगं	गंगं
Instr.	गंगया	गंगाय	गंगाए	गंगाए or ०इ or ०अ*
Abl. Gen.	गंगायाः	गंगाय	गंगाए	गंगाए or ०इ or ०अ*
Loc.	गंगायां	गंगाय (or loc. गंगायं)	गंगाए	गंगाए or ०इ or ०अ*
Plur. Nom. Voc. Acc.	गंगाः	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा
		गंगायो	गंगाओ or गंगाउ	गंगाओ or गंगाउ
Instr.	गंगाभिः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहि or ०हिं	गंगाहि or ०हिं or ०हिँ
Abl.	गंगाभ्यः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहिंतो	गंगाहिंतो or ०सुंतो.
Gen.	गंगानां	गंगानं	गंगाणं or गंगाण	गंगाणं or गंगाण
	—	—	गंगाणँ or ०ण	गंगाणँ or ०ण
Loc.	गंगासु	गंगासु	गंगासु or ०सुं	गंगासु or ०सुं

* Or abl. = abl. masc., exc. the forms in *á* and *áhi*, see H. C. III. 126. 127.

Neuters in *a*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom. / Acc.	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं
Voc.	कुल	कुल	कुल	कुल
Plur. Nom. / Voc. / Acc.	कुलानि	कुलानि or कुला	कुलानि or °णि	कुलाणि or °लाइं or °लाइँ

The remainder like masc. in *a*.

b, Declensions in *i* and *u*.

These two are treated alike, *mutatis mutandis ;* thus :—

The nom. sing. ends in *i* and *u* ; e. g., masc. *aggi, guru ;* fem. *buddhi, dhenu ;* neut. *dahi, mahu.*

The acc. sing. ends in *iṃ* and *uṃ ;* e. g., masc. *aggiṃ, guruṃ ;* fem. *buddhiṃ, dhenuṃ ;* neut. *dahiṃ, mahuṃ.*

The instr. sing. ends in *iṇá* and *uṇá* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇá, guruṇá* and *dahiṇá, mahuṇá ; íe* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhíe, dhenúe.*

The abl. sing. ends in *iṇo* and *uṇo* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo, guruṇo* and *dahiṇo, mahuṇo ; íe* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhíe, dhenúe.* There is also the quasi-abl. in *ito* and *uto ;* e. g., *aggito, guruto,* etc.

The gen. sing. ends in *iṇo* or *issa* and *uṇo* or *ussa* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo* or *aggissa, guruṇo* or *gurussa* and *dahiṇo* or *dahissa, mahuṇo* or *mahussa ; íe* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhíe, dhenúe.*

The loc. sing. ends in *immi* and *ummi* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggimmi, gurummi* and *dahimmi, mahummi ; íe* and *úe* fem., e. g , *buddhíe, dhenúe.*

The nom. and acc. plur. end in *ayo* or *í* or *iṇo* and *avo* or *ú* or *uṇo* masc., e. g., *aggayo* or *aggí* or *aggiṇo, guravo* or *gurú* or *guruṇo ; í* or *ío* or *íu* and *ú* or *úo* or *úu* fem., e. g., *buddhí* or *buddhío* or *buddhíu, dhenú* or *dhenúo* or *dhenúu.* The neuter is not noticed ; probably *íni* and *úni* ; e. g., *dahíni, mahúni ;* or possibly like the masculine, *dahí* or *dahíṇo, mahú* or *mahúṇo.* The masculine forms in *ayo* and *avo* are not especially noticed by Chaṇḍa, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in *ayaḥ, avaḥ,* and would come under his general rule I, 3. Their existence is guaranteed by the Páli on the one side, and the later Prákrit on the other. (Vararuchi V, 16 specially notes a nom. and acc. form in *ío* and *úo,* which is the same as *ayo* and *avo,* with *ay, av* contracted to *í, ú* respectively.)

The instr. plur. ends in *ihi* or *ihiṃ*, and *uhi* or *uhiṃ*; e. g., masc. *aggihi* or *aggihiṃ*, *guruhi* or *guruhiṃ*; fem. *buddhihi* or *buddhihiṃ*, *dhenuhi* or *dhenuhiṃ*; neut. *dahihi* or *dahihiṃ*, *mahuhi* or *mahuhiṃ*.

The abl. plur. ends in *ihinto* and *uhinto*; e. g., masc. *aggihinto*, *guruhinto*; fem. *buddhihinto*, *dhenuhinto*; neut. *dahihinto*, *mahuhinto*.

The gen. plur. ends in *íṇa* or *íha* or *íṇaṃ* or *íhaṃ*, and *úṇa* or *úha* or *úṇaṃ* or *úhaṃ*; e. g., masc. *aggíṇa* or *aggíṇaṃ* or *aggíha* or *aggíhaṃ*, *gurúṇa* or *gurúṇaṃ* or *gurúha* or *gurúhaṃ*; fem. *buddhíṇa* or *buddhíha*, etc., *dhenúṇa* or *dhenúha*, etc.; neut. *dahíṇa* or *dahíha*, etc., *mahúṇa* or *mahúha*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *isu* or *isuṃ* and *usu* or *usuṃ*; masc. *aggisu* or *aggisuṃ*, *gurusu* or *gurusuṃ*; fem. *buddhisu* or *buddhisuṃ*, *dhenusu* or *dhenusuṃ*; neut. *dahisu* or *dahisuṃ*, *mahusu* or *mahusuṃ*.

To the voc. sing. and plur. the same remark applies as to the voc. of the *a*-declension.

Unfortunately there is not a little untrustworthiness and inconsistency in the MSS., regarding this declension. Yet with a careful combination of all indications, it is not impossible to recognise its real circumstances. The main points are four:

(1). In sútra I, 3 all MSS. make the termination of the nom. sing. of all nouns in *i* and *u*, of whatever gender, to be *í* and *ú*. This is almost certainly false; for (a) even in the later Prákrit of Vararuchi (V, 30) and Hemachandra (III, 25) the nom. sing. neuter ends in short *i* and *u*; and (b) what is more important, there is no sútra in Chaṇḍa's grammar to account for the long *í* and *ú* of the nom. sing., as compared with the short *i* and *u* of the Sanskrit. I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's rules on nominal declension that Chaṇḍa enumerates in sútra I, 8 all those declensional forms which are *like* the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*saṃskṛitavad vibhaktayaḥ*), excepting so far as they are modified by the *general* phonetic laws of the Prákrit. Now by sútra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination *iḥ* or *uḥ* is omitted, but there is no sútra anywhere in Chaṇḍa to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short *i* or *u*. Hence it is very probable, that in Chaṇḍa's Prákrit the nominative singular ended in *i*, and similarly in *u*. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sútra II, 5 there occurs the word *ṛishiḥ*, the Prákrit form of which in all MSS. is given as *isi* (not *isí*); again in that very sútra II, 10 one example is *vati*, as all MSS. read, for Skr. *vṛitiḥ**; again in sútra II, 17 we have *mati* and *gati*, with all MSS. (exc. B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Páli, which Chaṇḍa's Prákrit resembles in so many

* Not = Skr. *patiḥ*, as C D have it, but = Skr. *vṛitiḥ*.

ways, affords a further confirmation of the truth; for there the nom. sing. also ends in *i* and *u* (see Minayef, pp. 64, 66, 69). Accordingly I have restored the short *i* and *u* in the nom. sing. throughout.

(2). It is very similar with the instr., abl., and loc. plural. Here all MSS. read long *í* and *ú* before the suffixes *hí*, *hinto* and *su*. But as Chaṇḍa has no sútra to enjoin the lengthening of *i* and *u*, it is probable that in his Prákrit they were not long, as in the later Prákrit, but short, as (optionally) in Páli (see Minayef *ibid.*, also Kuhn, pp. 79, 81, 82). The fact that Chaṇḍa places the forms of the instr. and loc. plural under sútra I, 3, which enumerates whatever in declension was like Sanskrit, tends in the same direction; and it is further curiously confirmed by his excluding the abl. plural from sútra I, 3. Suppose, e. g., that *aggíhi*, *aggíhinto* and *aggísu* be correct forms; if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sútra I, 3, as they are all *unlike* Sanskrit on account of their long *í*; but let the forms be *aggihi*, *aggihinto*, *aggisu*, then only *aggihinto* is unlike Skr. *agnibhyaḥ*, on account of *hinto*, and must be excluded from I, 3, whereas *aggihi* is like Skr. *agnibhiḥ* (*ḥ* being dropped by II, 10 and *bh* becoming *h* by III, 13) and *aggisu* like Skr. *agnishu* (*sh* becoming *s* by III, 18); hence these two forms will come under I, 3. This is precisely what we find Chaṇḍa to have actually done; it follows that his premises must have been what we have supposed them to have been. Accordingly I have restored the short *i* throughout in those three cases.*

In confirmation of the above reasoning it should be noticed, that whenever the short *i* and *u* are really lengthened to *í* and *ú* in Chaṇḍa's Prákrit, as in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. singular and nom. and acc. plural of feminine nouns, the change is expressly enjoined by Chaṇḍa, by sútra II, 4, where he gives the two examples *buddhíe*, *dhenúe* (not *buddhie*, *dhenue*).

(3). The acc. singular of feminine nouns in *í* and *ú*, as well as of feminine nouns in *á*, has a long termination; thus *gangáṃ*, *naíṃ*, *vahúṃ*. The MSS., on the whole, are decisive on this point. For though C and D read *gangaṃ* in I, 3, B reads *gangám* (A omits it); on the other hand C and D read *naíṃ* in I, 3 (A B omit it). This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prákrit, but even Páli (see Minayef, pp. 64, 67, 70) have the short termination, so that, if the long termination in Chaṇḍa were due to the Revisionists, they would have acted contrary to their usual instincts of conforming to the later Prákrit; and this strongly makes for the genuineness of the long terminations. The fact, that Chaṇḍa enumerates them under

* Perhaps no great stress can be laid on the fact that in MS. D the short *i* and *u* occur three times; viz. *buddhihim*, *guruhim* in I, 3 and *guruhinto* in I, 8. They may be mere clerical errors.

sútra I, 8, makes in the same direction; for if they had been short, they would have been too *unlike* Sanskrit to be noticed in that sútra. Another evidence in the same direction is the fact, that in sútra II, 16, where Chaṇḍa gives the declension of the noun *gávi* "cow", the two MSS. C D again read *gáviṃ* in the acc. sing. (A B omit it); this carries all the more weight, as it is again an undesigned coincidence. Lastly there is another striking evidence, in the personal pronouns, which also preserve the Sanskritic long termination in their acc. sing. *tváṃ* or *táṃ* and *máṃ* (see remarks, p. xlvi).

(4). All MSS. assign a locative singular in *e* to the nouns in *i* and *u*; thus *aggie, gurue.* That this is false, and rests on a misconception by the Revisionists of the intention of sútra I, 14, I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms.

Masculines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	अग्निः	अग्गि	अग्गि	अग्गी
Voc.	अग्ने	अग्गि	अग्गि	अग्गी or अग्गि
Acc.	अग्निं	अग्गिं	अग्गिं	अग्गिं
Instr.	अग्निना	अग्गिना	अग्गिणा	अग्गिणा
Abl.	अग्नेः	अग्गिना	अग्गिणो	अग्गिणो
		अग्गिस्मा or ०म्हा	——	अग्गीहिंतो
	अग्नितः	अग्गितो	अग्गितो	अग्गित्तो
		——	——	अग्गीओ or अग्गीउ
Gen.	अग्नेः	अग्गिनो or ०स्स	अग्गिणो or ०स्स	अग्गिणो or अग्गि,स्स
Loc.	अग्नौ	अग्गिस्मिं or ०म्हि	अग्गिम्मि	अग्गिम्मि
Plur. Nom. Voc.	अग्नयः	अग्गयो	अग्गये	अग्गीओ or अग्गीउ
	——	अग्गी	अग्गी	अग्गी
	——	——	अग्गिणो	अग्गिणो
Acc.	अग्नीन्	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	अग्निभिः	अग्गिभि or ०हि	अग्गिहि or ०हिं	——
		अग्गीभि or ०हि	——	अग्गीहि or ०हिं

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli	A'rsha.	Prákrit.
Abl.	अग्निभ्यः	अग्गिभि or °हि	अग्गिहिंतो	—
		अग्गीभि or °हि	—	अग्गीहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	अग्नीनां	अग्गीनं	अग्गीणं or °ण	अग्गीणं or °ण
			अग्गीणं or °ण	(*deest*)*
Loc.	अग्निषु	अग्गिसु	अग्गिसु or °सुं	—
		अग्गीसु	—	अग्गीसु or °सुं

Feminines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	A'rsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom	बुद्धिः	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धी
Voc.	बुद्धे	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धि or बुद्धी
Acc.	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं
Instr.	बुद्ध्या	बुद्धिया (abl. loc. also बुद्ध्या, loc. बुद्धियं, बुद्ध्यं, बुद्धिं, बुद्धो)	बुद्धीए	बुद्धीए or बुद्धीइ
Abl. Gen.	बुद्ध्याः or बुद्धेः			बुद्धीआ or बुद्धीअ
Loc.	बुद्ध्यां or बुद्धौ			
Plur. Nom.	बुद्धयः	बुद्धी	बुद्धी	बुद्धी
Voc.		बुद्धियो	बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ	बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ
Acc.	बुद्धीः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	बुद्धिभिः	बुद्धिभि or °हि	बुद्धिहि or °हिं	—
		बुद्धीभि or °हि	—	बुद्धीहि or °हिं
Abl.	बुद्धिभ्यः	बुद्धिभि or °हि	बुद्धिहिंतो	—
		बुद्धीभि or °हि	—	बुद्धीहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	बुद्धीनां	बुद्धीनं	बुद्धीणं or °ण	बुद्धीणं or °ण
			बुद्धीणं or °ण	(*deest*)*

* See H. C. IV, 300.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Loc.	बुद्धिषु	बुद्धिसु	बुद्धिसु or °सुं	—
		बुद्धीसु	—	बुद्धीसु or °सुं

Neuters in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	दधि	दधि	दहि (acc. दहिं)	दहि or दहिं or दहिँ (voc. only दहि)
Plur. do.	दधीनि	दधी or दधीनि	दहीनि or °णि	दहीणि or दहीइं or दहीइँ

The remainder, like masculines in *i*.

Masculines in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	गुरुः	गुरु	गुरु	गुरू
Voc.	गुरो	गुरु	गुरु	गुरु or गुरू
Acc.	गुरुं	गुरुं	गुरुं	गुरुं
Instr.	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा
Abl.	गुरोः	गुरुणा	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्मा or °म्हा	—	गुरूहिंतो
	गुरुतः	गुरुतो	गुरुतो	गुरुत्तो
		—	—	गुरूओ or गुरूउ
Gen.	गुरोः	गुरुणो	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स
Loc.	गुरौ	गुरुस्मिं or °म्हि	गुरुम्मि	गुरुम्मि
Plur. Nom. Voc.	गुरवः	गुरवो	गुरवो	गुरवो or गुरओ or °उ
		गुरू	गुरू	गुरू
		गुरुवो*	गुरुवो	गुरुवो

* Like जंतुनो, see Minayef, p. 69.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Instr.	गुरुभिः	गुरुभि or °भि *	गुरुहि or °हिं	—
		गुरूभि or °हि	—	गुरूहि or °हिं
Abl.	गुरुभ्यः	गुरुभि or °हि	गुरुहिंतो	—
		गुरूभि or °हि	—	गुरूहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	गुरूणां	गुरूनं	गुरूणं or गुरूण	गुरूणं or गुरूण
			गुरूहं or गुरूह	*deest*†
Loc.	गुरुषु	गुरुसु	गुरुसु or °सुं	—
		गुरूसु	—	गुरूसु or °सुं

Feminines in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	धेनुः	धेनु	धेनु	धेणू
Voc.	धेनो	धेनु	धेनु	धेणु or धेणू
Acc.	धेनुं	धेनुं	धेनुं	धेणुं
Instr.	धेन्वा	धेनुया *		
Abl. Gen.	धेन्वाः or धेनोः	धेनुया	धेनूए	धेणूए or धेणूइ
				धेणूआ or धेणूअ
Loc.	धेन्वां or धेनौ	धेनुया		
Plur. Nom.	धेनवः	धेनू	धेनू	धेणू
Voc.	धेनवः	धेनुयो	धेनूओ or धेनूउ	धेणूओ or धेणूउ
Acc.	धेनूः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	धेनुभिः	धेनुभि or °हि	धेनुहि or °हिं	—
		धेनूभि or °हि	—	धेणूहि or °हिं
Abl.	धेनुभ्यः	धेनुभि or °हि	धेनुहिंतो	—
		धेनूभि or °हि	—	धेणूहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	धेनूनां	धेनूनं	धेनूणं or धेनूण	धेणूणं or धेणूण
			धेनूहं or धेनूह	*deest*†

* Like जंतुहि, see Kuhn, p. 82.   † See H. C. IV, 300.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Loc.	धेनुषु	धेनसु	धेनुसु or °सुं	——
		धेनूसु	——	धेणूसु or °सुं

Neuters in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	मधु	मधु	महु (acc. महुं)	महु or महुं or महुँ (voc. महु).
Plur. do.	मधूनि	मधू or मधूनि	महूनि or °णि	महूणि or महूइं or महूइँ

The remainder, like masculines in *u*.

Masculine nouns in *í* and *ú* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting the nom. sing. which ends in *í* or *ú* respectively.*

Feminine nouns in *í* and *ú* are declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting, of course, that they have long *í* and *ú* wherever the latter have short *i* and *u*.

Feminines in *í*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	नदी	नदी	नई	नई
Voc.	नदि	नदि	नइ	नइ
Acc.	नदीं	नदिं or नदियं	नईं	नईं
Plur. Instr.	नदीभिः	नदीभि or °हि	नईहि or °हिं	नईहि or °हिं
Abl.	नदीभ्यः	नदीभि or °हि	नईहिंतो	नईहिंतो or °सुंतो
Loc.	नदीषु	नदीसु	नईसु or °सुं	नईसु or नईसुं

The remainder, as in feminines in *i*.

Feminines in *ú*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	वधूः	वधू	वहू	वहू
Voc.	वधु	वधु	वहु	वहु
Acc.	वधूं	वधुं	वहूं	वहुं

* Thus *nâni* I, 24, *sasí* III, 18, *savvaṇṇú* in C D III, 6.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Plur. Instr.	वधूभिः	वधूभि or ०हि	वहूहि or ०हिं	वहूहि or ०हिं
.. Abl.	वधूभ्यः	वधूभि or ०हि	वहूहिंतो	वहूहिंतो or ०सुंतो
Loc.	वधूषु	वधूसु	वहूसु or ०सुं	वहूसु or ०सुं

The remainder, as in feminines in *u*.

The declension of the noun *go* "cow".

The declension of this noun is given in sútra II, 16. It is not really an irregularly declined noun. The fact is, the Sanskrit word *go* is *generis communis*. The Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit), however, have formed separate words for the two genders; viz., *gávo* masc. and *gáví* fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of *naí* "river".

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	(गौः)	गावी*	गावी	गावी or गाई†
Acc.	(गां)	गाविं	गावीं	गाइं
Plur. Nom.	(गावः)	गावियो*	गावीओ or ०उ	गावीओ† or गाईओ or गाईउ
Acc.	(गावः)	गावी*	गावी	गाई

The remainder, like feminines in *í*.

6, Pronouns.

a, Personal Pronouns.

The original forms of the base of this pronoun are म and अम्ह (= Sanskrit अस्म), of which, in Sanskrit, the former belongs to the singular and the latter to the plural. In the Vernaculars (Páli, Prákrit), however, this distinction is not strictly observed. Moreover there are some by-forms of the base; viz., *mama*, *mayha*, *maha*, *majjha*. The last two, which occur in the Ársha, are, probably, mere modifications of *mayha* which occurs in Páli

* *Gáví* nom. sing. in Kuhn, p. 85, and *gáviyo* nom. plur. in Childers, p. 145, and *gáví* in Kachch. II, 1, 23 (Senart, p. 44).

† *Gáví* in H. C. II, 174 and *gái* in H. C. I, 158 and *gávío* in H. C. II, 174.

and, in the form *mahya*, in Sanskrit. In the *A'rsha* these by-forms occur only in a few isolated cases; but in the later Prákrit they have a nearly regular declension.

The *A'rsha*, also, has an indeclinable form *bhe*, which may be used for any of the six cases (II, 27). Hemachandra (III, 106) allows it only in the acc. plural. It is probably a modification of *mhe*, curtailed from *amhe*.

Declension.

Cases.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	A'rsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	अहं	अहं	अहं	अहं or अहयं
	——	——	——	अम्हि or अम्मि
Acc.	मां	मं	मां	मं
	——	ममं	——	ममं or मिमं, etc.
Instr.	मया	मया	मए	मए or मइ
	——	——	मे	मे or मि
	——	——	——	ममए, etc.
Abl.		मया	मइत्तो	मइत्तो
	मत्	——	——	ममत्तो or ममाद्दो, etc.
		——	——	मह्त्तो or मह्याद्दो, etc.
		——	——	मज्झत्तो or मज्झाद्दो, [etc.
Gen.	मे	मे	मे	मे, etc.
	मम	मम or ममं	मम	मम
	——	——	मह	मह or महं
	——	मय्हं	मज्झ	मज्झ or मज्झं
	——	अम्हं	——	अम्ह or अम्हं
Loc.	मयि	मयि	मयि	मइ, etc.
	——	——	——	ममम्मि
	——	——	——	महम्मि
	——	——	——	मज्झम्मि
	——	——	——	अम्हम्मि

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Plur. Nom.	वयं	मयं	वयं	वयं
	——	अम्हे	अम्हे	अम्हे or अम्हो or अम्ह
Acc.	अस्मान्	अम्हे (or अम्हाकं)	अम्हे	अम्हे or अम्हो or अम्ह
	नः	नो	नो	णे
Instr.	अस्माभिः	अम्हेभि or °हि	अम्हेहि or °हिं	अम्हेहि or °हिं
				अम्हाहि or °हिं, etc.
Abl.	अस्मत्	अम्हेभि or °हि	अम्हेहिंतो or	(अम्हेहिंतो?) or °सुंतो
		——	अम्ह हिंतो	अम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो
		——	——	(ममेहिंतो?) or °सुंतो
		——	——	ममाहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	नः	नो	नो	णो or णे
	अस्माकं	अस्माकं or अम्हाकं	अम्हाणं or °ण	अम्हाणं or °ण
	——	——	अम्हाहं or °ह	अम्हाहँ
	——	——	——	ममाणं or °ण
	——	——	——	महाणं or °ण
	——	——	——	मज्झाणं or °ण
	——	अम्हं	अम्हं	अम्हं or अम्ह
Loc.	अस्मासु	अम्हेसु	अम्हेसु or °सुं	अम्हेसु or अम्हसु
	——	——	——	ममेसु or ममसु
	——	——	——	महेसु or महसु
	——	——	——	मज्झेसु or मज्झसु ;
	——	——	——	also अम्हासु or °सुं, etc.

b, Second Personal Pronoun.

The original bases of this pronoun are *tva* or *ta* and *tumha* (Sanskrit *yushma*). In Sanskrit they belong to the singular and plural respectively; but in the Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit) the distinction is not strictly observed. There are, moreover, the following by-forms of the base:

tu or *tava* or *tuva* or *tuma* and *tuyha* or *tuha* or *tujjha* or *tubbha* or *tumbha.* The first four are probably modifications of *tva,* and the others, of *tumha.* The Ársha possesses most of these by-forms, though they occur only in isolated cases; absent are only *tu, tuva, tuyha.* In the later Prákrit, however, they are capable of almost regular declension.

The Ársha possesses also an indeclinable form *bhe* which may be used in any of the six cases (II, 26). Hemachandra confines its use to the instrumental singular and to the nominative, accusative, instrumental and genitive plural (H. C. III, 94, 91, 93, 95, 100).

The second personal pronoun in Chaṇḍa's Prákrit is especially deserving of notice, as some of its forms bear a striking witness to its antiquity. I mean the forms of the nom. acc. and loc. sing., which, just as in Páli, may optionally preserve the initial conjunct *tv.* The MSS. are on this point in considerable confusion, owing to the, perhaps, natural mistake of the Revisionists, that these were the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prákrit forms. This can be very clearly shown in regard to the accusative case. The readings are the following:

A त्वां। मां। तं॥
B त्वां। मां। तं। मं॥
C त्वां। मां। तं। मं॥
D त्वां। तं। मां। मं॥

A has nearly preserved the original reading, as I shall presently show. The Revisionists, mistaking *tváṃ* and *máṃ* for Sanskrit, were naturally surprised to miss in A the corresponding form मं; so they quietly added मं in B and C. Next noticing that these four forms did not observe their proper order, they change the latter to *tváṃ, taṃ, máṃ, maṃ* in D. This no doubt is the correct order; provided that *tváṃ* and *máṃ* are really Sanskrit.* But the truth is that they are not Sanskrit. Indeed, one of the indications that they are not Sanskrit, is the very fact of the absence of that order in A B C. On the other hand, on the supposition that they are not Sanskrit, but Prákrit, it will at once appear that the reading of A does observe the proper order; moreover it will also be seen, why A omits *maṃ.* The order of the forms of the nom. plural (*vayaṃ, tuhme, ahme*) clearly shows Chaṇḍa's method. *Vayaṃ* is a tatsama; *tuhme* and *ahme* are tadbhavas; the tatsama form corresponding to *vayaṃ* is *yúyaṃ,* but that does not exist in Prákrit. Chaṇḍa's method, evidently, is to give firstly the tatsama forms, afterwards the tadbhava. Applying this key to the explanation of accusative singular forms,

* It is well known, that native Grammarians, when treating of "persons" or "personal" pronouns do not commence, as we do, with the first person and then proceed to the second and third; but they begin at the other end. Hence with them the second personal pronoun always precedes the first. Hence the change in D to *tvám tam, mám maṃ.*

we find that *tvám*, *mám* is the tatsama pair; the tadbhava pair should be *tám*, *mám*, but *mám* is not a tadbhava; hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is *tvám*, *mám*, *tám*. That *tám* must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument; if *tam* were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form *mam* would be unaccountable; while if *tám* was the original reading, its change into *tam* by the first Revisionist can be easily accounted for by his taking *tvám* for Sanskrit and *tám* for (what it undoubtedly would be in that case) an erroneous Prákrit spelling. But if *tvám* is a Prákrit tatsama, its immediate tadbhava is *tám*, not *tam*. And there is this to be said for the form *tám*, that it agrees with the general law of Chaṇḍa's Prákrit, of preserving the long termination in the acc. singular (see the remarks on p. xxxvii). Moreover if *tam* were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chaṇḍa under sútra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit *tvám* to be fairly called a *saṁskṛitavad vibhakti*. It would, no doubt, have had a special sútra assigned to it; as indeed is done by the Revisionist authors of C D (in I, 20) who seem to have felt a little the inconsistency of their changing *tám* into *tam*. It being thus established, that *tvám* is the tatsama form of the acc. singular, there is little difficulty in adjusting the forms of the nom. and loc. singular. The tatsama forms of the former are *tvam*, *aham*; the tadbhava is *tam*, which is not mentioned in sútra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sútras (*e. g.* in II, 18). The tatsama locatives are *tvayi*, *mayi*; the tadbhava is *tayi*. There are, of course, no tadbhava forms of *aham* and *mayi*.

Declension.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Nom.	त्वं	त्वं	त्वं or तं	तं or तुं
	—	तुवं	तुमं	तुवं or तुमं
	—	—	—	तुह
Acc.	त्वां	त्वं or तं	त्वां or तां	तं or तुं
	—	तवं or तुवं	तुमं	तुवं or तुमं
	—	—	—	तुह
	—	—	तुए	तुए or तुमे
Instr.	त्वया	त्वया or तया	तए or तइ	तए or तइ
	—	—	ते or तुमे	ते or तुमे
	—	—	—	तुमए or तुमइ

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
		त्वया or तया	तइत्तो	तइत्तो
		——	तुमातो	तुमत्तो or तुमाओ
		——	तुमाहिंतो or ०हिं	तुमाहिंतो or ०हिं
Abl.	त्वत्	——	——	तुवत्तोorतुवाओ,etc.
		——	——	तुहत्तोorतुहाओ,etc.
		——	——	तुब्भत्तोorतुब्भाओ,etc
		——	——	तुम्हत्तोorतुम्हाओ,etc.
				[etc.
		——	——	तुज्झत्तो or तुज्झाओ
	ते	ते	ते	ते or दे or दि or ए or इ
	तव	तव	तव	तुव or तुम, etc.
	——	——	तुह	तुह or तुहं
Gen.	——	——	तुज्झ	तुज्झ or उज्झ
	——	तुम्हं	तुम्ह	तुम्ह or उम्ह or तुम्हं
	——	तुय्हं	——	उय्ह
	——	——	——	तुब्भ or उब्भ
	त्वयि	त्वयि or तयि	त्वयि or तयि	तइ or तुम्मि, etc.
	——	——	——	तुमेorतुमम्मिorतुवम्मि
Loc.	——	——	——	तुहम्मि
	——	——	——	तुज्झम्मि
	——	——	——	तुम्हम्मि
	——	——	——	तुब्भम्मि
		तुम्हे	तुम्हे or तुम्भे	तुम्हे or तुम्ह
Plur. Nom.	यूयं	——	——	तुय्हे or उय्हे
		——	——	तुज्झे
		——	——	तुब्भे or तुब्भ

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Acc.	वः	वो	वो	वो
	युष्मान्	तुम्हे (or तुम्हाकं)	तुम्हे	तुम्हे
		——	तुब्भे	तुब्भे or तुब्भ
		——	——	तुय्हे or उय्हे
		——	——	तुज्झे
Instr.	युष्माभिः	तुम्हेभि or °हि	तुम्हेहि or °हिं	तुम्हेहि or उम्हेहिं
		——	(तुब्भेहि or °हिं?)	तुब्भेहिं or उब्भेहिं
		——	——	तुय्हेहिं or उय्हेहिं
		——	——	तुज्झेहिं
Abl.	युष्मत्	तुम्हेभि or °हि	तुम्हेहिंतो	तुम्हेहिंतो or °सुंतो*
				तुम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो
		——	——	तुब्भे° or तुब्भा°, etc.
		——	——	तुय्हे° or तुय्हा°*, etc.
		——	——	तुज्झे° or तुज्झा°, etc.
Gen.	वः	वो	वो	वो
	युष्माकं	तुम्हाकं	तुम्हाणं or °ण	तुम्हाणं or °ण
			तुम्हाहं or °ह	तुम्हाणँ
				तुय्हाणं or °ण
				तुमाणं or तुवाणं or °ण
				तुब्भाणं or °ण
				तुज्झाणं or °ण
		तुम्हं	——	तुम्ह or तुम्हं
				तुब्भ or तुब्भं
				तुज्झ or तुज्झं

* Also उम्हहिंतो or °सुंतो, उम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो, उय्हेहिंतो or °सुंतो, उय्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो।

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Loc.	युष्मासु	तुम्हेसु	तुम्हेसु or °सुं	तुम्हेसु or तुम्हसु*
		——	——	तुमेसु or तुमसु.
		——	——	तुवेसु or तुवसु.
		——	——	तुहेसु or तुहसु
		——	——	तुब्भेसु or तुब्भसु
		——	——	तुज्झेसु or तुज्झसु
		——	——	तुसु

b, Demonstrative Pronouns.

These are *tad*, *etad* and *idam*. Their declensional bases are *ta*, *eta* and *ima* respectively. They are regularly declined, like nouns in *a*. Of the regular forms of *tad* the following are mentioned by Chaṇḍa, nom. sing. neuter *taṃ* (II, 17); nom. plur. masc. *te* (I, 31); instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. fem. *táe* (I, 9); gen. plur. com. gen. *táṇaṃ* or *táhaṃ* (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed; nom. sing. masc. *sa* (II, 17, Skr. *sa*), fem. *sá* (II, 1, Skr. *sá*); abl. sing. fem. *tassá* (B C D, I, 3, Skr. *tasyáḥ*), gen. sing. or plur. com. gen. *se* (I, 17); gen. plur. masc. or neut. *tesaṃ* (Skr. *teshám*) or *tesiṃ* (I, 3); loc. sing. masc. or neut. *tasmiṃ* (Skr. *tasmin*) or *tamhi* (B C D, I, 3). All these anomalous forms are relics from the Sanskrit, excepting the genitive *se*. They also occur in Páli, excepting the genitive general *se* and the genitive plural *tesiṃ* (see Minayef's Páli Grammar, pp. 83—85). There are also evidences of the existence of an irregular feminine base *ti* or *tí*; *viz.*, instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. *tíe* (I, 9) and abl. sing. *tissá* (B C D, I, 3).

Of the base *eta*, the only forms noticed are the Sanskritic nom. sing. masc. *esa* (II, 10) and the anomalous gen. general *se* (I, 17).

Of the base *ima*, only the regular form *imá* of the nom. sing. fem. (II, 1) and the anomalous form *se* of the genitive general (I, 17) are mentioned.

c, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

The bases are *ja* and *ka*, which are declined regularly, like nouns in *a*. There are only three forms, however, noticed in Chaṇḍa; *viz.*, the irregular Sanskritic abl. sing. masc. or neut. *jamhá* (III, 23) of the relative pronoun

* Also तुम्हासु, तमासु, तुवासु, तुहासु, तुज्झासु, तुब्भासु; also every form with final °सुं.

and the irregular Sanskritic nom. singular neuter *kiṃ* (I, 23) and the regular gen. plural *káṇaṃ* or *káhaṃ* (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun.

d, Pronominal Adjectives.

The pronouns of quantity are *táva* "so much", *jáva* "as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit *távat*, *yávat*, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant *t*. Besides *táva* there also occurs the anomalously shortened form *tá* (but not *já*, for *jáva*). The Páli has only *táva*, *jáva*, but not *tá* (see Childers, pp. 500, 599). The later Prákrit has both pairs complete, *táva* and *jáva*, *tá* and *já* (H. C. I, 271). Páli has also a form *jávaṃ* (apparently really a nom. sing., like *mahaṃ*, *bhavaṃ*); the Ársha probably had both *távaṃ* and *jávaṃ*; at least they occur in the Jaina Prákrit of the Bhagavatí (see Weber's *Fragment*, p. 257).

There is also mentioned the interrogative pronominal adjective, nom. sing. masc., *kaṭare* "which of two" (II, 10, Skr. *kataraḥ*).

7, Numerals.

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chaṇḍa, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in *ṇhaṃ* (I, 6). From this fact, however, it may be concluded, that, in all other respects, the declension of numerals was regular and followed that of nouns. That is to say, that *eka* "one", *pancha* "five", and all others, ending in *a*, were declined like nouns in *a* (e. g., *deva*); *di* "two" (Skr. *dvi*) and *ti* "three" (Skr. *tri*), like nouns in *i* (e. g., *aggi*); and *chatu* "four" (Skr. *chatur*), like nouns in *u* (e. g., *guru*). It is probable, however, that the nominative and accusative of the second and fourth numerals were taken directly from the Sanskrit; *viz.*, *do* or *duve* or *ve* (Skr. *dvau*, *dve*, Páli *dve*, *duve*, Prákrit *do*, *duve*, *ve*, *doṇṇi*, *veṇṇi*) "two"; *chattáro* (acc. also *chaturo*), *chatasso*, *chattári* (so also in Páli; Skr. *chatváraḥ*, *chaturaḥ*, *chatasraḥ*, *chatvári*; Prák. *chattáro*, *chaüro*, *chattári*) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally:

6. *chha* (III, 14), Skr. *shaṭ*, Pá. *chha*, Prák. *chha*.
10. *daha* (III, 14), Skr. *daṣa*, Pá. *dasa*, Pr. *dasa* or *daha*.
13. *teraha* (III, 22, 31) Skr. *trayodaṣa*, Pá. *teraha* or *telaha*, Pr. *teraha*.
16. *solasa* (III, 21), Skr. *shoḍaṣa*, Pá. *solasa*, Pr. *solaha* (?)
20. *vísá* (III, 32), Skr. *viṃṣati*, Pá. *vísati* or *vísaṃ*, Pr. *vísá*.
30. *tísá* (I, 6), Skr. *triṃṣat*, Pá. *tiṃsati* or *tísaṃ*, Pr. *tísá*.
50. *panná* (III, 32), Skr. *panchásat*, Pá. *paññásaṃ*, Pr. *paṇṇásá*.
55. *paṇapaṇṇasa* (III, 33), Skr. *panchapanchásat*, Pá. *punchapaññása*, Pr. *paṇavaṇṇá*.

The following numerals are also mentioned, *viz.*:—

6th *chhaṭṭho* (III, 26), Skr. *shashṭhaḥ*, Pá. *chhaṭṭho* or *saṭṭho* (Kachch. p. 200), Pr. *chhaṭṭho*.

"6 fold" *chhakkaṃ* (III, 3), Skr. *shaṭkaṃ*, Pá. *chhakkaṃ*, Pr. *chhakkaṃ*.

8, The Verb.

Chaṇḍa's Grammar takes no formal notice of the conjugation of the Verb. Incidentally, however, not a little information is supplied; and that shows that, on the whole, the conjugation did not differ much from its Sanskrit prototype, so far at least as the ordinary tenses are concerned. The difference does not appear to have been greater than that between the Páli and Sanskrit.

The old Prákrit, like the Páli and Sanskrit, had parasmaipada and átmanepada forms; thus parasm. *gachchhati* "he goes" (II, 4); átm. *najjate* "it is known" (III, 25). These two examples also show the existence of the active and passive voices. The MSS. vary a good deal in their spelling (see the *var. lect.*); sometimes all give the ending *e* of the átmanepada (e. g., *vijjhate* in III, 11); sometimes only one or the other (e. g., *dísate* in II, 5. *najjate* in III, 25), while the rest give the termination *i* of the parasmaipada. I have preferred restoring uniformly the átmanepada ending, as it has undoubtedly the support of antiquity and because Chaṇḍa has no sútra to allow for the change of the átmanepada into the parasmaipada. That change became almost universal in later Prákrit; its beginnings are already to be found in Páli (Kachch. III, 4, 37. p. 263); and it may have occasionally occurred in the A'rsha; it certainly *did* occur in the A'rsha in the present participle, where it is enjoined by an especial sútra (II, 25); but the absence of any such sútra with reference to the tenses seems to show that the change did not yet affect the latter.

There was no dual, as sútra II, 12 shows. The examples are all taken from the noun; but if the noun had no dual, the verb is not likely to have had it.

With regard to the three persons, examples occur of all three, both in the singular and plural; but only in the present and imperative tenses. Thus present tense 1st sing. *bhaṇámi* (I, 20. 22), *vemmi* (III, 3); 2nd sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18); 3rd sing. *eti* (I, 12), *achchhati* (II, 1), *gachchhati* (II, 4. 10), *bháti* (II, 22), *hoti* (III, 31), *havati* (III, 39); 1st plur. *bhaṇámo* (II, 27); 3rd plur. *jalanti* (I, 12). Again imperative tense, 2nd sing. *passa* "see thou" (I, 12), 3rd sing. *rakkhatu* (I, 3), 2nd plur. *nisámetha* (II, 26), 3rd plur. *rakkhantu* (I, 4).

These examples also show traces of the existence of verbal classes. Thus *bhavati*, *jalanti* (Skr. *jvalanti*), etc. are of the Ist class; *eti*, *bháti*, *vemmi*

(Skr. *vachmi*) of the IInd class; *lijjante* (Skr. *líyante*) is of the IVth class; *nisámetha* (Skr. *niṣámayata*) of the Xth class.

The passive may be formed in two ways, either by assimilating the suffix *ya* to the preceding consonant, or by changing it to *jja* if preceded by a vowel, or to *ijja* if preceded by a consonant (III, 25). Thus 3rd sing. pres. *dísate* for Skr. *dṛiśyate* "it is seen" (II, 5), *dajjhate* for Skr. *dahyate* "it is burnt" (III, 1); again *najjate* for Skr. *jñáyate* "it is known" (III, 25), *váhijjate* for Skr. *vádhyate* "he is troubled" (III, 25).*

The causal is formed by means of the suffix *e*, as in the 2nd plur. imper. *nisámetha* for Skr. *niṣámayata*.

As to the participles, see the following section.

Conjugation of *bhaṇ* "speak".

Present tense.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	A'rsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. 1st	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि or भणमि
2nd	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि
3rd	भणति	भणति	भणति	भणइ
Plur. 1st	भणामः	भणाम	भणामो	भणामो or भणमो भणाम or भणम, etc.
2nd	भणथ	भणथ	भणथ	भणह or भणित्थ
3rd	भणंति	भणंति	भणंति	भणंति.

Imperative.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	A'rsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. 2nd	भण	भण	भण	भण
3rd	भणतु	भणतु	भणतु	भणउ
Plur. 2nd	भणत	भणथ	भणथ	भणह
3rd	भणन्तु	भणंतु	भणंतु	भणंतु

Passive.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	A'rsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. 3rd	भण्यते	भञ्ञते भणीयते —	भण्णते भणिज्जते	भण्णए or भण्णइ भणीअए or °अइ भणिज्जए or °ज्जइ

* MS. A in II, 25 has the curious reading *sáhiyyantaṃ* (see Appendix), which raises a doubt, whether *yy* may not possibly be the correct reading throughout for *jj*; the latter being due to the Revisionists. The reading *yy* would well agree with sútra III, 25 (*nayyate*, *váhiyyate*); though, no doubt, sútra III, 15 may account for the change of *yy* to *jj*.

Causal.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. 3rd	भाणयति	भाणेति	भाणेति	भाणेइ
		भणापेति	(भणापेति?)	भणावेइ

The following specialities may be noticed: the root *hava* "be" may be optionally contracted to *ho*; e. g., *hoti* "it is" (III, 31); so also in Páli (see Minayef, p. 113). Again the root *as* "be" drops its initial *a* in the 2nd pers. sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18). The roots *grah* "take" and *kar* "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, *giṇhati* "he takes" (III, 23), *karati* "he does" (see App. B C D, III, 3).

9, Suffixes.

a, Participial.

a, *anta* (Skr. *at*) forms the participle present of the parasmaipada verbs and optionally of the átmanepada. Thus *arahanto* (II, 11) for Skr. *arhan*; pass. *bhijjantaṃ* (II, 25) for Skr. *bhidyamánaṃ*.

b, *mána* forms optionally the participle present of the átmanepada verbs; e. g., *sáhijjamánaṃ* (App. A, II, 25) for Skr. *sádhyamánaṃ*.

c, *ta* forms the participle past of the passive; e. g., *kataṃ* (Skr. *kṛtaṃ*, I, 23), *sutaṃ* (Skr. *ṣrutaṃ*, III, 2), *palátaṃ* (Skr. *paláyitaṃ*, I, 23), etc. After consonants it inserts *i* or is assimilated: thus *osaritaṃ* (Skr. *apasaritaṃ*, II, 23), *diṭṭhaṃ* (Skr. *dṛshṭaṃ*, I, 27).

d, *tavva* (Skr. *tavya*) forms the participle future passive. Thus *sotavvaṃ* (Skr. *ṣrotavyaṃ*, III, 2), *kátavvaṃ* (Skr. *kartavyaṃ*, II, 4. III, 9, 29).

e, *ttá* or *ttu* (Skr. *tvá*) form the conjunctive participle. Thus *bhottuṃ* (Skr. *bhuktvá*, II, 19, final anusvára by II, 15), or, with connecting vowel *i*, *vanditti* and *vandittu* (Skr. *vanditvá*, II, 19). Sometimes *tvá* forms *chchá* and *ṭṭu* by assimilation; e. g., *suchchá* (Skr. *ṣrutvá*, II, 19); *kaṭṭu* (Skr. *kṛtvá*, II, 19); or even *ppi*, as in *kappi* (Skr *kṛtvá*, II, 19, cf. *gappi* of *gam* in the Apabhraṃṣa, H. C. IV, 442).

f, *o* (or rather *io*) may form the conjunctive participle; e. g., *vandio* (Skr. *vanditvá*, II, 19).*

* I suspect that there is here some corruption in the text. The suffix is perhaps *iya* (as in Páli). MS. A reads the example *vandiva* (not *vandio*); similarly A reads *iva* in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is *iya*. Hence the correct reading in II, 19 may be *vandiya*, and accordingly the suffix *iya* (not *o*).

g, *túṇa* or *ttúṇa* (Skr. *tvána*) forms the conjunctive participle; e. g., *bhottúṇa* (Skr. *bhuktvá*, II, 19), *kátúṇa* (Skr. *kṛtva*, II, 5).

b, Nominal.

ála and *illa* derive nouns expressive of possession. Thus *jaḍálo* or *jaḍil* (Skr. *jaṭaván*) II, 20.

10, INDECLINABLES.

a, *ṇaï*, *cheya* or *chiya* (Skr. *eva*) express emphasis (II, 17). After short vowels *ch* is doubled; thus *taṃ cheya*, but *sa chchiya*.

b, *piva*, *viva*, *viya*, *vva*, *va* (Skr. *iva*) express likeness (II, 22); thus *gimho viya*, *kamalaṃ viva*; but *piva* apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvára, e. g, *chandaṇaṃ piva* (cf. *pi*). The Sanskrit form *iva* also occurs, e. g., *chamaram iva*.

c, *jahá* (Skr. *yathá*) also expresses likeness (II, 22); e. g., *jahá sankho.*

d, *pi* (Skr. *api*) expresses addition or emphasis (II, 18), thus *kataṃ pi*, *súro pi*.

e, *khu* (Skr. *khalu*) expresses emphasis (II, 24); thus *evaṃ khu.*

f, *tá* or *táva* (Skr. *távat*) and *jáva* (Skr. *yávat*) express measure (II, 21); e. g., *tá vichchhinnaṃ*, *táva gambhírá*, *jáva lijjante.* The abbreviated form *já* does not occur. See pronominal adjectives, p. li.

g, *iya* (Skr. *iti*) indicates a quotation (II, 28); e. g., *iya evaṃ.*

h, *o* (Skr. *ava* or *apa*) is a prefix (II, 23); e. g., *ohasitaṃ* (Skr. *avahasitaṃ*), *osaritaṃ* (Skr. *apasaritaṃ*).

ANALYSIS OF CHAṆḌA'S SU'TRAS

ON NOMINAL DECLENSION, I, 3. 5–10.*

The plan on which these sútras are arranged is to notice *first* all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, though modified in accordance with the general phonetic laws of Prákrit. These forms are enumerated in sútra I, 3.

Secondly, all those forms which are peculiar to Prákrit and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskritic forms are enumerated in the sútras I, 5—16.

The following table will show at a glance this cardinal division of the Prákrit declensional forms:

* A brief analysis of the second and third chapters of Chaṇḍa has already been given; see pp. viii—x, xxiv—xxxi.

	masc. *a* bases.		masc. *i*, *u* bases.		fem. *a*, *i*, *u* bases.	
	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.
Sing.	Nom.	——	Nom.		Nom.	
	Acc.	——	Acc.		Acc.	
	Instr.	——	Instr.		——	*Instr.*
	——	ABL.	——	Abl.	——	*Abl.*
	——	GEN.	——	GEN.	——	*Gen.*
	——	LOC.	——	LOC.	——	*Loc.*
Plur.	Nom.	——	——	Nom.	——	*Nom.*
	——	ACC.	——	Acc.	——	*Acc.*
	——	*INSTR.*	Instr. ½	*INSTR.* ½	Instr. ½	*INSTR.* ½
	——	*ABL.*	——	*ABL.*	——	*ABL.*
	Gen. ½	*GEN.* ½	Gen. ½	*GEN.* ½	Gen. ½	*GEN.* ½
	Loc.	——	Loc.	——	Loc.	——

The forms in the Sanskrit columns are those which Prákrit shares with the Sanskrit; those in the Prákrit columns are the forms peculiar to Prákrit.

Now it will be observed (1) that in the Prákrit columns the only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and for all three genders are those of the instrumental, ablative and genitive plural; indicated by capital italics.

(2). The only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *feminine* gender are those of the instr., abl., gen., loc. singular and the nom. acc. plural indicated by small italics. (In the other genders, the same forms are not alike for the three kinds of bases.)

(3). The only forms, which are *wholly* alike for the bases in *i* and *u* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl. sing. and nom. and acc. plural; indicated by ordinary type.

(4). The only forms which are *partially* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *masculine* gender are those of the genitive and locative singular; indicated by small capitals. (In the gen. sing. the suffix *ssa*, and in the

loc. sing. the suffix *mmi*, are common to all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, while the suffix *ṇo* of the gen. is confined to bases in *i* and *u*, and the suffix *e* of the loc. to bases in *a*.)

(5). The only forms which are peculiar to the bases in *a* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl. sing. and the acc. plural; indicated by large capitals. (This is the converse of No. 3.)

The principle in the above explained order is to proceed from the most general to the most particular forms. It will be seen at once that it is this principle on which the sútras I, 5—16 are arranged. We have first (by No. 1) sútras on the instr., abl. and gen. plural of all genders (*lingát parasya*, I, 5—8); secondly (by No. 2) sútras on the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., and the nom. and acc. plural of the feminine (*striyám*, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No. 3) sútras on the abl. sing. and nom. acc. plural of the masculine (*puṃsi*, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No. 4) sútras on the gen. and the loc. singular of masculines (*puṃsi*, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No. 5) sútras on the abl. sing. and acc. plur. of the masculine (*puṃlinge*, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sútras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatical usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chaṇḍa commences with the sútra on the gen. plur., because the gen. plur. has *two* forms for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*), one of which it has in common with Sanskrit (see Sanskrit column). This is indicated by the fraction ½. The gen. plur., therefore, is the natural link between the Sanskritic cases, treated in sútra I, 3, and the Prákritic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sútra on the instr. plur., because this case has its form in common with Sanskrit, with the exception of masc. bases in *a*.* Lastly comes the sútra on the abl. plural

* The treatment of this case requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chaṇḍa was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prákrit instr. plur. suffix *hi* is really the same as the Skr. *bhis* (or *bhiḥ*), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prákrit (*i. e.*, by the rules III, 13. II, 10, 11). Accordingly there would have been no need of any special sútra (I, 7), teaching the formation of the Prák. instr. plur., if only Sanskrit had used the suffix *bhis* with every kind of base; but unfortunately Sanskrit does not use *bhis*, but *ais*, with masc. bases in *a*. It, therefore, became necessary for Chaṇḍa to formulate a special sútra to meet the exceptional case of these masc. *a*-bases. Here came the dilemma. If he had made a special sútra (after the analogy of I, 15, 16) for masc. *a*-bases alone (say, *hi bhiso'taḥ*), this, by its terms, would have denied the suffix *hi* to all other bases; which would have been manifestly wrong. If, on the other hand, he made a special sútra for all bases, this would seem to imply that the suffix *hi* is altogether Prákritic (like the abl plur. suffix *hinto* I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (*saṃskritavad vibhakti*) and ought to be set down under sútra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chaṇḍa did, was this: in order to indicate the Sanskritic character of the suffix *hi*, he mentioned it under sútra I, 3, but excluded

which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision Chaṇḍa commences with the sútra on the nom. and acc. plural, instead of that on the abl. singular, simply because the sútra (I, 10) which immediately precedes it referred to the nom. and acc. plur.; a circumstance which saves the repetition of the term *jassasoḥ*. Lastly in the fifth subdivision, Chaṇḍa places the acc. plur. before the abl. sing., because the usage of native grammarians is to treat of the accusative (or *second* case), whether plural or singular, before the ablative (or *fifth* case); though another reason may have been, that sútras I, 15 and I, 16 on the *a*-bases are parallel to the sútras I, 11 and I, 12 on the *i*- and *u*-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sútras. That the sútras I, 5—10 refer to any of the three kind of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) is shown by the absence of any limitation in their terms as well as (in some of them) by their examples. But sútras I, 11, 12 are, as far as their terms are concerned, equally unlimited; yet they are only applicable to bases in *i* and *u*. How is this to be known? The limitation is ingeniously indicated in two ways; 1, by the examples; these are only taken from bases in *i* and *u*; the example of the *a*-base will be found in sútra I, 3; thus indicating, that the *a*-base forms its nom. plur. not by the rule I, 11, but by the rule I, 3. Secondly, there is the special sútra I, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sútra I, 11 and shows that the *a*-base forms its acc. plur. not by the rule I, 11 but by the rule I, 15. The sútra I, 11 being thus limited to the *i*- and *u* bases, the sútra I, 12, of course, is equally limited to those bases by the well-known grammatical usage of *vartanam* or "implication."* Moreover the same implication is carried on to sútras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term *ataḥ* "after *a*-bases" in sútra I, 15. At the same time, the two sútras I, 13 and I, 14 are only *partially* applicable to bases in *i* and *u*; for they partially refer also to bases in *a*. How is

examples of masc. *a*-bases; next to meet the exceptional case of the latter bases, he formulated a special sútra (I, 7) in *general* terms (*hi bhisaḥ*), but excluded examples of any base save those of masc. *a*-bases. In either case, therefore, he uses the examples which he gives to define the exact range of the terms of the sútra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sútra, is a favorite one with Chaṇḍa. Another striking example (regarding the gen. and loc sing.) will be noticed further on in the text.

* The limitation of sútra I, 12 is also indicated by the existence of sútra I, 16. In fact, there are two sets of sútras, *viz.*, I, 11, 12 and I, 15, 16, both being on the acc. plur. and abl. sing. Of these the latter set, *viz.* I, 15, 16, being limited, by its very terms, to *a*-bases, shows that the former set must be limited to bases in *i* and *u*. There are, thus two sútras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in *i* and *u* only; next two sútras I, 13, 14 referring, partially, to both *a*-bases and *i*- and *u*-bases; lastly two sútras I, 15, 16 referring to *a*-bases only.

this again to be known? The reply is the same as before; by the examples. In sútra I, 13 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give two forms of the genitive, but that of the *a*-base gives only one form, thus indicating that the *a*-base does not form a genitive in *no*, but only one in *ssa*. Similarly in sútra I, 14 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give only one form of the locative each, while the examples of the *a*-base give two forms; thus showing that the loc. in *e* does not belong to the *i*- and *u*-bases, but only to the *a*-base.* It hardly needs adding, that in sútra I, 16, of course, the term *ataḥ* is again "implied" from the preceding sútra; though its limitation to the *a*-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix *át* (instead of *ńasi*) used in the sútra.

To return to the Sanskrit columns; they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prákrit columns, and which are "*saṃskṛitavad*," that is, the same as in Sanskrit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prákrit phonetic laws (II, 1, 4, 10, 11). These forms are:—

(1.) The nom. and acc. singular of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. nom. sing *grámaḥ*, Ár. *gámao* (II, 10) = *gámo* (II, 1; cf. Kachch. II, 1, 32. p. 48); or Skr. *píṭhaṃ*, Ár. *píḍha* + *aṃ* = *píḍhaṃ* (II, 1; cf. Páṇini VII, 1. 24. in Laghu Kaumudí, p. 83) or Skr. *agniḥ*, Ár. *aggi* (II, 10); or Skr. *dadhi*, Ár. *dahi* (II, 10; cf. Páṇini VII, 1. 23. in L. K. p. 85); or Skr. *nadí*, Ár. *naí*; or Skr. *vadhúḥ*, Ár. *vahú* (II, 10). Acc. sing. Skr. *grámaṃ*, Ár. *gáma-aṃ* = *gámaṃ* (II, 1; cf. Páṇini VI, 1, 107 in L. K. p. 47); or Skr. *agniṃ*, Ár. *aggi+aṃ* = *aggiṃ* (cf. Páṇini *ibid.*); or Skr. *gangáṃ*, Ár. *gangáṃ*; or Skr. *nadíṃ*, Ár. *naíṃ*, etc.

(2.) The nom. plural of masculine and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *deváḥ*, Ár. *devá* (II, 10); or Skr. *kuláni*, Ár. *kuláni* or *kuláṇi* (III, 16).

* There can be no doubt that the forms *aggie*, *gurue* (or *aggie*, *gurúe* sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtless Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sútra. For the forms have no support either from Páli or from Prákrit; indeed Hemachandra and Vararuchi expressly forbid them in their rules (H. C. III, 128. Vr. VI, 61), which would almost seem to have had in view these forgeries of the Revisionists. Of course, the forms *aggie*, *gurue* are simply the regular Prákrit forms for the Sanskrit locatives *agnike*, *guruke*, containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*. Nor can it be doubtful that the example *devassa sohá* is only by some mischance omitted in MSS. A and B. For the gen. sing. of *a*-bases is not mentioned in I, 3 (by any of the four MSS.) where one might expect it, as it is a Sanskritic form; and if it were also omitted in I, 13, there would be no notice of it in the grammar at all. That, in such an important form as the gen. sing. of *a*-bases in *ssa*, would be simply incredible. Hence the reading of MSS. C D, in this respect, must be correct. But the stupid remark *chakáragrahaṇát*, etc., of course, is altogether the Revisionists' own contribution. It was *their* way of solving the difficulty which I have explained in the text. They either did not understand Chaṇḍa's method, or thought it not explicit enough. But *their* solution makes it no better, involving as it does a most fanciful use of the term *cha*.

(3.) The instr. singular of masc. and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devéna*, Ár. *deveṇa* (III, 16).

(4.) The instr. plural of all bases in *i* and *u* and of all three genders; thus Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, Ár. *aggihi* (II, 10. III, 13), or Skr. *nadíbhih*, Ár. *naíhi*, etc. The Skr. suffix *bhiḥ* drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes *bh* to *h* by III, 13. The Ársha form, therefore, is perfectly regular; but as the *a*-bases also take *hi* (for Skr. *aiḥ*), it is given as the general suffix of the instr. plur. in I, 7. See the footnote on page lvii.

(5.) The gen. plural for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and for all three genders; thus Skr. *grámáṇáṃ*, Ár. *gáma* + *ṇaṃ* = *gámáṇaṃ* (I, 5. II 1; cf. Páṇini VI, 4. 3. and VII, 1. 54 in L. K. p. 51.; *i. e.*, Skr. *ṇáṃ* becomes *ṇaṃ* by I, 5; but *ṇaṃ* consists of the augment *ṇ* and the real suffix *am*, and the final vowel of the base *gáma* becomes long *á* before the initial vowel of the suffix *am*, by II, 1).

(6.) The loc. plur. of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. *deveshu*, Ár. *deva-su* = *devesu* (cf. Páṇini VII, 3, 103 in L. K. p. 50), or Skr. *agnishu*, Ár. aggisu (III, 18), or Skr. *nadíshu*, Ár. *naísu*, etc.

It will be observed, that these forms are precisely those which are enumerated by Chaṇḍa in sútra I, 3.

In MS. B a few additional forms are given in sútra I, 3, which, however, do not materially affect the above given explanation. They occur in the acc. plur., and abl. gen. and loc. singular. They may possibly be original portions of the sútra, as some of the pronominal forms are very old tatsamas (*tasmiṃ*, *tvayi*, etc.). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But *gangá*, *tumhe* and *amhe* in the acc. plur. and *gáme*, *kule* in the loc. sing. are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sútra, as the former forms come under sútra I, 10, 15, the latter under sútra I, 14. For this reason and because the standard MS. A omits them, I have relegated all these additions to the Appendix B C D.

ON THE CHANGE OF DENTAL *N* TO CEREBRAL *Ṇ*.

Postscript to pp. xxv, xxvi.

The only instances in which the Ársha shows an almost uniform use of the cerebral *ṇ*, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, are suffixes and particles. Thus there are the declensional suffixes *ṇa* or *ṇá* of the instr. sing. (I, 3), *ṇo* of the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. (I, 11, 12), *ṇi* of the nom. plur. neut. (I, 4), *ṇa* (or *ṇaṃ*) of the gen. plur. (I, 5). Again the derivative suffixes *túṇa* (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and

ttaṇa (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle *ṇaï* (II, 17, but never the negative *na*). In all these cases Sanskrit, whenever it has a corresponding form, uses the dental *n*.

In the case of bases of nouns or verbs, the tendency of the Ársha is just the other way. Here the dental *n* is almost uniformly used; there are exceptions in which the cerebral *ṇ* occurs, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound; but there is no apparent principle in these exceptions; for the same word is at one time spelled with dental *n*, at another, with cerebral *ṇ*; e. g. *náṇaṃ* (III, 6), but *nánaṃ* (III, 19); *dhannaṃ* (B C D, III, 27), but *dhaṇṇaṃ* (III, 16).

Even as regards suffixes and particles, there is no absolute uniformity of spelling with cerebral *ṇ*. Especially is this want of perfect uniformity striking in MS. B. Thus it has instr. sing. *devena* in I, 3, *nehena* in II, 27; nom. plur. *kuláni* in I, 3 (but *deváṇi* in I, 4); gen. plur. *devánaṃ* in I, 3 (but *buddhíṇaṃ*, *naíṇaṃ*, etc.) and *no* in the sútra of I, 5 (but *ṇa* in all examples); *ttana* in II, 29 (in the comment, but *ttaṇa* in the sútra and in all examples); *naï* in II, 17 (in the sútra, but *ṇaï* in the comment, and in all examples). There are only three cases in which MS. B has uniformly the cerebral *ṇ*; *viz.*, in the instr. sing. suffix *ṇá* (I, 3), the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. suffix *ṇo* (I, 11, 12), and in the derivative suffix *túṇa* (II, 19). In the MS. A there are only two instances of want of uniformity; *viz.*, the nom. plur. *kuláni* in I, 3 (but *deváṇi* in I, 4), and *naï* in II, 17 (only in the sútra). In most cases, probably, this want of uniformity is to be ascribed to the carelessness of the writers or copyists of the MSS. But in the case of the nom. plur. neuter (where both MSS. A and B agree) and, probably, of the instr. sing. of *a*-bases (which MS. B uniformly spells with dental *n*), I am inclined to believe that both ways of spelling (with *n* or *ṇ*) are correct. It will be noticed that in these two cases the Ársha forms are tatsamas, while in the others they are, more or less, decided tadbhavas. This would account for the change of the dental *n* into the cerebral *ṇ* being more firmly established in the latter than the former cases; in the case of the instr. sing. suffix *ṇá*, the tendency to that change has even prevailed over the tatsama character of the suffix.

That there *was* such a tendency to the preferential use of the cerebral *ṇ* in Prákrit (at least in the Western Prákrit), there can be no doubt; evidence of it, in the modern Western Gauḍian, can still be observed. And that it assumed somewhat larger dimensions in later Prákrit times, is clearly shown by the statements of Hemachandra in his Grammar (already referred to on p. xxvi). But there can be no doubt that, in the main, this tendency affected tadbhava forms and words only, and that in the living language, the *vernacular* Prákrit, it never assumed those large and uniform

dimensions, which are taught in the Grammars of Vararuchi and others, and are exhibited in the dramatic and other non-Jaina literature. The state of the modern Western Vernaculars of India renders it doubtful whether, even in the far more limited dimensions taught by Hemachandra, the tendency ever existed in the vernacular Prákrit. That, as soon as the vernacular Prákrit was used for literary purposes, any such tendency should become slightly more accentuated, by being subjected to uniform rules, is but natural and a phenomenon attending the literary cultivation of all languages. But that exaggeration of it, which characterises the non-Jaina grammars and literature of Prákrit, is clearly the outgrowth of a scholastic pedantry and a mark of utter artificialness. In my opinion, the so-called Jaina Prákrit and the so-called Máhárásh̤trí Prákrit merely differ in so far as that the former is the natural, the latter the artificial literary representative of the vernacular Western Prákrit. The Jain community, always very strong in Western India, employed their vernacular as the language of their sacred writings; and the literary language, thus formed, naturally kept more or less close to its vernacular prototype; for otherwise it would have defeated its own object of serving as the vehicle of conveying religious instruction to the masses. The Brahmanical opponents of the Jains, who had no need to be guided by any such consideration, and who employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prákrit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization.

There are other evidences, making in the same direction, which however I can here only briefly refer to, as the subject is not strictly within the scope of the present work. One is the so-called *ya-ṣruti*, mentioned on p. vii. In Prákrit there is a tendency to elide medial single consonants. There is no difficulty in pronouncing the resultant hiatus, when the latter of the two meeting vowels is *i* or *u*; for then the vowels practically tend to combine (*a*+*i* = *ai* or *ay*, *a*+*u* = *o* or *au*, etc.). But if the second vowel is *a*, there is some awkwardness in pronouncing the hiatus, especially if both vowels are *a* (*á* + *a* or *a* + *á*, etc.). Hence a tendency arose in the vernacular Prákrit to overcome the awkwardness by sounding the semivowel *y* (or sometimes *v*) between the hiatus-vowels (*aya* = *a* + *a*, *iya* = *i* + *a*, *uya* or *uva* = *u* + *a*, etc.); a tendency the operation of which explains the origin of many modern Gauḍian forms and which is still observable in the present day. When, however, the vernacular Prákrit came to be cultivated by the Jains, another tendency, apparently, arose, of looking upon the *ya-ṣruti* as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandra, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prákrit, allows the *ya-ṣruti* only in the more difficult

case of the hiatus between two *a* (H. C. I, 100). The non-Jain cultivators of Prákrit (*e g.*, Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Máhárásh̩trí Prákrit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the *ya-ṣruti* altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prákrit rule of eliding medial consonants and thus creating hiatuses.

Another evidence is the curious rule of Chaṇḍa (II, 2), that the first of two hiatus-vowels is elided, if the second is followed by a conjunct consonant.* Hence arise such words as *devindo* for *devendo*, *kaujjoo* for *katojjoo*. This rule is utterly ignored by the grammarians of the later literary Prákrit, both the Jaina and the Máhárásh̩trí. Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prákrit, for it is still observed in the present day (*e. g.*, in Hindí *jogindu*, *narinda*, as well as *jogenda* and *narenda)*. The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prákrit was probably this. In the later Prákrit a tendency arose to change *i* and *u* to *e* and *o* respectively before conjunct consonants (see Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116); a practice apparently unknown to the older Prákrit of Chaṇḍa. The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (*devinda* and *devenda*; *kaujjoo* and *kaojjoo)*; of these forms those with *e* and *o* (*devenda* and *kaojjoo*) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (*devendra*, *kritodyoga*) much more nearly than the others with *i* and *u*. Hence the latter forms, together with the rule which produced them, came evidently to be looked upon as vulgarities and accordingly as things to be avoided. But that is an incorrect view; and that the forms with *i* and *u* are the older of the two (those with *a* and *o* being in fact, in many cases, modifications of the older forms in *i* and *u*, and not direct derivatives of their Sanskrit counterparts) is proved by the practice of the modern Vernaculars, in which both forms often occur side by side.

ON THE TREATMENT OF MEDIAL SINGLE CONSONANTS.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xxvi and xxviii.

The remark as to the permissive character of Chaṇḍa's rules, of course, also applies to his rule III, 34. It is not to be supposed that in the Prákrit of Chaṇḍa's time the sonant consonants were uniformly elided, any more than that the surds were uniformly preserved. But just as the latter were occasionally softened to the corresponding sonants (see Ch. III, 12), so the former were occasionally retained. But I think the existence of the rule III, 35 (on the *ya-ṣruti*), which provides for the treatment of a particular

* The rule, apparently, only applies to compound words, as shown by the examples.

kind of hiatus, shows that such hiatuses must have been sufficiently common to require that rule; and since hiatuses could only arise by the elision of sonant consonants, it is clear that such elision was a common occurrence. I conclude therefore, that in the Prákrit of Chanda's time, as regards surd consonants, preservation was the regular practice, while as regard sonants, elision was the rule; in both cases, there might be exceptions; but Chanda's grammar, clearly, was formulated so as to suit the generality of phenomena, leaving exceptional or less general phenomena to be provided for by the permissive character of his rules. This is the point of view I have followed in editing and, where necessary, restoring his Grammar. It may be added that rules, like Ch. III, 31. II, 21. 23, also point to a greater tendency towards detrition on the part of the sonants, than on that of surd consonants.

॥ [१] ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः [२] ॥



प्रणम्य* शिरसा वीरं स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिर् [†] अक्षरैः ।

लक्षणं प्राकृतीं वक्ष्ये किंचिद् वृद्धमताद् अहं ॥ १ ॥

क्वचिल् लोपः क्वचित् सन्धिः क्वचिद् वर्णविपर्य्ययः ।

आगमोऽन्तादिमध्येषु लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं ॥ २ ॥

॥ [४] अथ क्रमेण नवनवतिः सूत्राणि ॥

प्रामद्धं प्राकृतं [illegible]

यमः [११] जन्ने [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] वृद्धमतात् कि[illegible]

† C व्यापिभि[illegible]

[illegible] प्राकृत। संस्कृतं [illegible]

देश्यादिकम् अनेकधा॥ § [illegible]

|| C यज्ञः यजन। पुंलिंगे। य[illegible]

6 जजः)। हजथाना रनखाः [illegible]

विसर्ज्जनीयस्य (ii, 10 जन्नश्रा) [illegible]

विश्लेषः स्याद् वा अचिस्पन्दनप्र[illegible]

(१) C prefixes ८० = 80 [illegible]
of the Jain work *tattvārth*[illegible]
pref ६० = 60. (२) C ओं नमः [illegible]
आगमोऽन्तादिमध्येषु लक्ष्यः स्यात् स[illegible]
(४) So A; B C D om. t[illegible]
commentary. (६) B om. [illegible]
D, A B C °योनिः॥ (११[illegible]
जन्ने॥ (१२) A B om.

(१)संस्कृतसमं*। तद् यथा। सूरो। सोमो। जालं(२)। कंदलं(३)। कोमलं(४)। इत्यादि॥ देशीप्रसिद्धं(५) (C D(६))। तद् यथा॥ हर्षितं(७) लहसिअं। (७)स्पष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलितं (८)पुट्टं चन्द्रिकोज्जलीय। इत्यादि॥

॥ 2 ॥ लिंगं च(९) ॥ २ ॥

प्राकृते लिंगम् अपि त्रेधा(१०) त्रिप्रकारं(११) भवति॥ देवो(१२)। गंगा(१३)। कुलं॥

॥ 3 ॥ तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात् लिंगगत एव संस्कृतवत् विभक्तयो(१४) भवंति॥ सि[illegible]।

[illegible])। ॥वच्छ(१०)। पि[illegible]

[illegible] चन्द्रः। आर्षपत्नि:
देवमो) खराणां ख[illegible]
ij, 6 चगिः)। लोपे०
0) चमौ॥ ॥ C [illegible]

[illegible] B कं॥ (४) A B कोमल;
[illegible]ted here, that A B not
[illegible] of a clause or sentence.
[illegible] have a different reading;
पुदं चन्द्रिकोज्जदुली। (८)
(१२) D adds Skr. देवः॥
B om. this case-term;
[illegible], and C D add the
[illegible]च। पीडः। दधि।
[illegible] (१०) A B
(१[illegible]) A C D वदं।

दधि । मधु । त्वं(१) । अहं(२) ॥ जस् ॥ देवा(३) । कुलानि(४) । वयं(५) तुम्हे अम्हे । (C D) ॥ अम्(६) ॥ देवं । अग्गिं । गरुं(७) । (८)गंगं* । बुद्धिं(९) । धेनुं† । नदिं(१०) । पीठं(११) । दधिं । मधुं । (१२)त्वं मं तं रक्खतु(१३) ॥ अम्(१४) (B C D) ॥ टा ॥ देवेन(१५) । गरुना(१६) । दधिना(१७) ॥ भिस् ॥ अग्गीहि(१८) । रिपूहि(१९) । बुद्धीहि(२०) । नदीहि(२१) । दधीहि । मधूहि(२२) । ‡तुम्हेहि(२२) । अम्हेहि(२२) ॥ ङास(२३) (B C D) ॥ भ्यस्(२४) (C D) ॥ ङस(२४) (B C D) ॥ आम ॥ देवानं(२५) । बुद्धीनं(२६) । धेनूनं(२७) । नदीनं(२८) । तेसं(२९) §तेसं(३०) ॥ ङि(२४)

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* C गंगं गंगां । स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन गंगं ॥ † C धेनुं । (धेनु-अम्) । स्वराणां॰ (ii, 1 धेन्-अम् or धेनम्) । स्वरो॰ (ii, 4 धेनुम्) । पदागमो॰ (ii, 11 धेनुं) ॥ ‡ C युष्माभिः । युष्मदो यस्य तः (iii, 17 तुष्माभिः) । रश्रषाणां षः (iii, 18 तुष्माभिः) । वर्गे (iii, 3 तुम्माभिः) । मस्थोर्॰ (iii, 23 तुम्हाभिः) । स्वरो॰ (ii, 4 तुम्हेभिः) । पदागमो॰ (ii, 11 तुम्हेभिं) । हिं भिसः (i, 7) तुम्हेहिं ॥ § C तेषां । तेषां । रश्रषाणां षः (iii, 18 तेसां) । स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन षाम् इति सं भवति । तेसं ॥

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(१) So A (see Kacc. ii, 2, 21), B तुमम्, C D तुमं ॥ (२) D अहं and, after it, adds इत्यादि ॥ (३) A देवाः, B देवा (cf. p. 2, note १३). (४) C D कुलानि ॥ (५) B वयं ; C D have a different reading, see Appendix C D. (६) A reads confusedly बुद्धिं । जस् । धेनुं । पीठं । मधुं । त्वां । मां तं रक्खथो, om. the rest of the examples of the acc. sing. ; C D add the Skr. translations देवं । अग्निं । गुरुं । गंगां । बुद्धिं । धेनुं । नदीं । पीठं । दधि । मधु ॥ (७) C D add रिपुं रिपुं (D in MS. रिवुं) ॥ (८) So B ; C D गंगं ॥ (९) B D बुद्धिं ॥ (१०) C D नदिं, A [illegible] (११) A B पीठं ॥ (१२) A reads त्वा मां तं र॰, B C त्वां मां तं र॰ मं र॰, D मां तं त्वां मं र॰ ॥ (१३) A B रक्खथो. C D रक्खतु ॥ (१४) A om. ; see App. B C D. (१५) B देवेन ; C D add Skr. देवेन । गुरुणा । दध्ना ॥ (१६) B C D add मधुना ॥ (१७) D adds वारिणा ॥ (१८) A B C D अग्गीहि ॥ (१९) C रिपूहि, D रिपूहि ; B om. this example ; A om. this and the remaining examples of the instr. plur. ; C D add the Skr. translations अग्निभिः । रिपुभिः । बुद्धिभिः । नदीभिः । दधिभिः । मधुभिः । [illegible] ॥ (२०) B बुद्धीहि, C बु॰ ; D बुद्धिहि and adds गरुहि ॥ (२१) D नदीहि ॥ (२२) B C D दधीहि, मधूहि ॥ (२३) B D read [illegible] ॥ (२४) A om. ; see App. B C D. (२५) B देवानां (see i, 5) ; D adds Skr. देवानां ॥ (२६) D [illegible] A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen. plur. ; C D धेनूनं [illegible] C D नदीनं ॥ (२९) B D तेसं, C om. (३०) C D add [illegible] [illegible]

(B C D) ॥ सुप ॥ देवेसु(१) । अग्गिसु(२) । बुद्धिसु(३) । मालासु(४) । नईसु(५) । कुलेसु(६) । तुम्हेसु(७) । अम्हेसु(८) । (C D) ॥ इत्यादि(९) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ क्वचिद् व्यत्ययः* ॥ ४ ॥

एषां लिंगानां क्वचिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जस्(१०) ॥ विज्जुणो† । देवाणि(११) रक्खंतु(१२) ॥

॥ 5 ॥ सागमस्याप्य आमो णो(१३) ह्णो(१४) वा ॥ ५ ॥

(१५)सागमस्यामोऽनागमस्यापि णकारो भवति ह्णो वा ॥ ‡ताणं ताह्णं ॥ (१६)देवाणं(१६) देवाह्णं । कम्माणं । कम्माह्णं । (१७)सरिताणं सरिताह्णं । (C D) । (१८)तुम्हाणं तुम्हाह्णं ॥ । (C D) ॥

॥ 6 ॥ संख्याया(१९) एहः ॥ ६ ॥

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* C व्यत्ययः । विपर्ययः ॥ † C विज्जुणो । वि[illegible]धर्मोद्॰ (iii, 5 विद्दु) । सधर्मास्य॰ (iii, 16 वि[illegible] [illegible]सय (i, 12 विज्जुणो) ॥ ‡ C ताणं । ताहं । तेषां करणीयं । एकस्मिन् स्थाने णः द्वितीयस्थाने हो वि[illegible] कर्माणां । सरितां । युष्माकं ॥

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(१) A om., D देवेसुं; B prefixes Skr. [illegible]मौसुं ॥ (३) A बुद्धीसु, B C बु॰, D बुद्धी[illegible] मालासुं ॥ (५) A om., C नईसु, D नईसुं ॥ [illegible] and adds तुम्हेसुं ॥ (८) B अम्होसु, C अम्हेसुं, [illegible] ॥ (१०) So A; B C D एसो असो, [illegible] adds देवाइं देवाइँ; D adds देवाइँ ॥ (१२) D om. (१५) B सागमस्याप्यमो अनाग॰ ॥ (१७) [illegible] सरिताणं; B सरियाणाणं सरियाणाहं; D prefi[illegible] [illegible]णाणं; D तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ (१९) C D संख्यायाः ॥

संख्यायाः परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप्य् आमेा एहं भवति ॥ (C D) । *पंचएहं । †तीसएहं[1] । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 6a ॥ (C D) ॥ ६a ॥

॥ 7 ॥ हि[2] भिसः ॥ ७ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भिसेा हि[2] भवति ॥ देवेहिं‡ । गामेहिं[3] । (C D) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ हिंतेा[4] भ्यसः ॥ ८ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भ्यसेा[5] हिंतेा भवति ॥ गामेहिंतेा[6] । सिद्धे-हिंतेा[7] । बुद्धिहिंतेा[8] । धेनुहिंतेा[9] । नईहिंतेा[10] । तुम्हेहिंतेा[11] । अम्हेहिंतेा[12] ॥

॥ 9 ॥ तृतीयादीनाम एत्वम[13] एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥ ९ ॥

तृतीयादीनां टा-ङसि-ङस्-ङि-वचनानां स्त्रियां ए भवति ॥ गंगाए§ । बुद्धीए[14] । नईए[15] । वहूए[16] । तीए[17] । ताए‖ ॥

॥ 10 ॥ ओज्लोपौ[18] जश्शसोः[19] ॥ १० ॥

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* C पंचपहं । पंचानां ॥ पंचन् । षदागमेा० (ii, 11 पंच) । संख्याया ण्हः (i, 6 पंचण्ह) । अनुस्वारेा० (ii, 15 पंचण्ह) ॥ † C तीसण्हं । त्रिंशतां ॥ त्रिंशत् । रेफः० (iii, 9 तिंशत्) । अनुस्वारेा० (ii, 15 तिशत्) । स्वरेा० (ii, 4 तीशत्) । रशषाणां सः (iii, 18 तीसत्) । तस्य च इत्य् अनेन तल्लोपः (iii, 33 तीस) । संख्याया ण्हः (i, 6 तीसण्ह) । अनुस्वारेा० (ii, 15 तीसण्हं) ॥ ‡ C देवेहिं । देवैः ॥ § C गंगाए । गंगया । गंगायाः गंगायाः । गंगायां ॥ ‖ C तीए ताए । तया तस्याः तस्याः तस्यां ॥

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(1) A तीशण्ह ; C D prefix बीसण्हं ॥ (2) B C D हिं ॥ (3) C D om. ; but see App. C D. (4) A हितेा ॥ (5) A भिसेा ॥ (6) A C om., B D गमाहिंतेा ; D prefixes ग्रामेभ्यः ॥ (7) A सिद्धीहिंतेा, B सिद्धाहिंतेा ; C D read देवेहिंतेा and add अग्गीहिंतेा । गुरूहिंतेा ॥ (8) B C बुद्धीहिंतेा, A D बु० ॥ (9) C D धेणूहिंतेा, A B धेनू० ॥ (10) C D णईहिंतेा ॥ (11) B D तुम्हे० and अम्हे० ॥ (12) A om. ; see i, 29. (13) A एकत्वम्, B एत्वम् ॥ (14) A B D बु० ॥ (15) C D णईए ॥ (16) A व० ॥ (17) C D place ताए । तीए ॥ (18) A ओंज० ; B ज्जोलोपो ॥ (19) C D जसशसेाः, B जसशसेाः ॥

स्त्रियां वर्त्तमानयोर्[१] जश्शसोर्[२] ओ उ लोपाश् च भवंति[३] ॥ [४]मालाओ मालाउ माला । [५]बुद्धीओ बुद्धीउ बुद्धी । [६]धेनूओ धेनूउ धेनू । नईओ नईउ नई* ॥ एवं शसोऽपि ॥

॥ 10ᵃ ॥ (C D) ॥ १०ᵃ ॥

॥ 11 ॥ पुंसि पूर्व्वत्वं[७] ॥ ११ ॥

पुंसि[८] पुंलिंगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जश्शसोः[२] पूर्व्वस्वरो† भवति ॥ अग्गी[९] । गुरू ॥

॥ 11ᵃ ॥ C ॥ ११ᵃ ॥

॥ 12 ॥ णो ङसेश् च ॥ १२ ॥

पुंलिंगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जश्शसोर्[२] णो भवति । पंचम्येकवचनस्य च ॥ ‡अग्गिणो जलंति । §मुणिणो पस्स[१०] । ‖गिरिणो एति[११] नई[१२] ॥

॥ 13 ॥ स्सश्[१३] च ङसः[१४] ॥ १३ ॥

पुंसि वर्त्तमानस्य ङसो णो भवति । स्सश्[१३] च भवति[१५]॥ ¶मुणिणो

* C does not give the Sanskrit equivalent of any of these examples; but, instead of it, the two numbers 13 and 23 are inscribed over each form; thus मालाओ (with १३ / २३ above) ॥ † C यादृशः पूर्व्वशब्दस्य स्वरस्तादृश एव कर्त्तव्यः ॥ ‡ C अग्नयः ज्वलंति ॥ § C मुनीन् पश्य ॥ ‖ C गिरेः सकाशात् एति नदी । B गिरितः एति नदी ॥ ¶ B मुनेः रूपं ॥

(१) A reads वर्त्तमाना एते भवंति ॥ (२) C D ज्वसश्शसेार् ॥ (३) B reads ओ उ लोप भवंति । लोपो भवति ॥ (४) A has final ओं, and D has final उ, instead of ओ, in all examples; exc. D नईओ; B places मालाउ मालाओ and so on throughout. (५) B बु० in all three examples. (६) A C D नू for नु in all three examples. (७) B पूर्व्वत्वत् ॥ (८) A om. (९) C D prefix देवा ॥ (१०) B पश्यामि ॥ (११) A B C एइ, D एई ॥ (१२) A C D नई, B नई ॥ (१३) B स्स ॥ (१४) A ङसो वः ॥ (१५) A om.

(१)रूपं (२)मुणिस्स रूपं । *अग्गिणो सिहा अग्गिस्स सिहा ॥ (३)देवस्स सेाहा† । (CD) ॥‡

॥ 14 ॥ ए म्मि ङेः ॥ १४ ॥

पुंसि ङिवचनस्य ए(४) भवति । म्मि च भवति ॥ (५)अग्गिम्मि । (६)गुरुम्मि§ ॥ (७)गामे गामम्मि ॥

॥ 15 ॥ (८)ए अमोऽतः ॥ १५ ॥

अतः(९) अकाराद् उत्तरस्य अमः(१०) पुँल्लिंगे ए भवति ॥ देवे‖ । बंभणे(११) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ (१२)तोतुहिंतोलोपाम् ङस्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

(१३)पंचमी-आतः आदेशतकारस्य(१४) तो तु हिंतो लोपा(१५) एते

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* B C अग्नेः शिखा ॥ † C देवस्य शोभा ॥ ‡ C अग्नी। ॥ अग्गी । अग्गी or अग्गिणो (i, 11. 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्गिं। अग्गी or अग्गिणो (i, 11 12) ॥ २ ॥ अग्गिणा (i, 6ª) । अग्गीहिं (i, 7) ॥ ३ ॥ अग्गिणो or अग्गिस्स । अग्गीणं or अग्गीहं (ii, 13. i, 5) ॥ ४ ॥ अग्गिणो (i, 12) । अग्गीहिंतो (i, 8) ॥ ५ ॥ अग्गिणो or अग्गिस्स (i, 13) । अग्गीणं or अग्गीहं (i, 5) ॥ ६ ॥ अग्गिए(१६) or अग्गिम्मि (i, 14) । अग्गीसु or अग्गीसुं (i, 3. ii, 15) ॥ ७ ॥ ह अग्गी । हे अग्गी or हे अग्गिणो ॥ एवं इकारांतानां सर्व्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ § C गुरौ ॥ गुरू । गुरू or गुरवो ॥ १ ॥ गुरुं । गुरू or गुरवो ॥ २ ॥ गुरुणा । गुरूहिं ॥ ३ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरूणं or गुरूहं ॥ ४ ॥ गुरुणो । गुरूहिंतो ॥ ५ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरूणं or गुरूहं ॥ ६ ॥ गुरुए (१६) or गुरुम्मि । गुरूसु or गुरूसुं ॥ ७ ॥ हे गुरू । हे गुरू or हे गुरवो ॥ एवं उकारांतानां सर्व्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ ‖ C देवान् । ब्राह्मणाम् ॥

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(१) A reads पस्स (see i, 12) ; B C D रूवं ॥ (२) C D रूवं ; A B om. मुणिस्स रूपं । अग्गिणो सिहा ॥ (३) C places देवस्स सोह before अग्गिस्स सिहा ; A B om. (४) C D एम्मिश्च भवति ॥ (५) A prefixes अग्गिए, B C D अग्गीए ॥ (६) D prefixes गुरुए, C गुरूए ; but not A B. (७) C D prefix देवे । देवम्मि ॥ (८) B om. this sútra and its commentary. (९) A अतो अकाराद् ॥ (१०) D अमः ॥ (११) A बम्हणे (see ii, 15). (१२) A B C D read तोउ° for तोतु°, and C D insert हिं after उ ; B has the marginal note हिं त्रुटि ॥ (१३) A पंचमी आतत आदे°, B पंचमी आत आदे°, C पंचमी आत् । आदे°, D पंचत् परस्य आदे° ; C had originally आत्, but the long á is changed to a by yellow pigment. (१४) B आदेशातकारस्य ॥ (१५) A B C D तोउ° for तोतु° ॥ (१६) MS. अग्गीए and गुरूए ॥

आदेशा भवंति(१) ॥ (२)गयणातो* । गयणातु† । गयणाहिंतो(३) गयणा(४) ॥

॥ 17 ॥ तदिदमोः(५) से षष्ठ्यैकस्याम्(६) ॥ १७ ॥

तद्(७) इदम् अनयोर् एकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वेषु स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकेषु यद् रूपं तस्य से भवति ॥ तस्याः(८) रूपं से रूपं(९) । तस्याः(९) गुणाः(१०) से गुणा(११) । (१२)अस्याः रूपं से रूपं(१३) । (१४)अस्याः गुणाः से गुणा । एवं शेषेष्व् अपि द्रष्टव्याः(१५) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ युष्मदः ॥ १८ ॥

अत(१६) ऊर्द्धं ‡युष्मदध्यायो भवति ॥

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* C गगमात् ।' कगचज० (or कटतीय० iii, 34) इत्यनेन गकारस्य लोपः (गअम) । अस्थिते यत्वम् अवर्णः (or य० अवर्णे iii, 35 गयन) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 गयण) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 गयणा) । ओ० (i, 16) इति गयणाओ ॥ † C गयणो(१७) । गयणा । हे गयणो । हे गयणा ॥ १ ॥ गयणं । गयणा or गयणे (i, 15) ॥ २ ॥ गयणेण । गयणेहिं or गयणेहि or गयणेहिँ ॥ ३ ॥ गयणस्स । गयणाणं or गयणाण ॥ ४ ॥ गयणाओ or गणयाउ or गयणाहि or गयणाहिंतो or गयणा । गयणेहिंतो ॥ ५ ॥ गयणस्स । गयणाणं or गयणाणं ॥ ६ ॥ गयणे or गयणम्मि । गयणेसु or गयणेसुं ॥ ७ ॥ एवं सर्व्वेषां अकारान्तानां रूपं नेयं ॥ ‡ C युष्मच्छब्दस्य रूपाणि ॥ तुमं । तुम्हे ॥ १ ॥ तुए or तुमं । तुम्भे ॥ २ ॥ ते or तुमे or तइ or तए । तुम्हेहिं or तुम्हेहि or तुम्हेहिं ॥ ३ ॥ तुह or तुज्झ or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाणं or तुम्ह ॥ ४ ॥ तुम्हाहिं or तुम्हाहिंतो or तुम्हाओ or तइत्तो । तुम्हेहिंतो ॥ ५ ॥ तुह or तुज्झ or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाणं or तुम्हं ॥ ६ ॥ तइ or तुमम्मि । तुम्हेसु or तुम्हेसुं ॥ ७ ॥

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(१) A adds हिंच; B C D insert हिं after ०तु० ॥ (२) A गयणाओ, गयणाउ with ă, B C D गयणाओ । गयणाउ (with á). (३) A गयणहिंतो (with ă); it also adds गयणाहिं (with á), while B C D prefix it. (४) C D add एवं देवादयः ॥ (५) A B D ०मो ॥ (६) A om. षष्ठी ॥ (७) C D तत् ॥ (८) A B तस्या ॥ (९) So A; B C D रूवं ॥ (१०) A B C गुणा ॥ (११) A D गुणाः ॥ (१२) A B om. the two last examples. (१३) A B C D रूवं ॥ (१४) D om. this example, but, on the other hand, adds अयोः रूपं से रूवं । तासां रूपं से रूवं ॥ (१५) B ०व्या ॥ (१६) C D अतः ॥ (१७) So in MS., as masc.

॥ 19 ॥ [1]तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ १९ ॥

.. युष्मच्छब्दस्य सविभक्तेः सौ परतः[2] तुमं आदेशो भवति ॥ [3]तुमं दिट्ठो[4] ॥ (CD) ॥

॥ 20 ॥ [5]अमि तुए [illegible] च ॥ २० ॥

युष्मदो अमि परे [7]तुमं भवति तुए च। सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमं भणामि* तए भणामि[8] ॥ (CD) ॥

[illegible]

युष्मदो [11]जसि परे तुम्भे[10] भवति। सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्भे[10] †मनुस्सा[12] सूरा[13] ॥

[illegible]

युष्मदः[15] शसि परे तुब्भे[14] भवति। सविभक्तेः ॥ तुब्भे[14] ‡मनुस्सा[16] भणामि[17] ॥

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* C भणामि। संस्कृतसमम् अत्र ॥ † C माणुस्सा। मनुष्य ॥ स्वरो॰ (ii, 4 मानुष्य)। तवर्गस्य॰ (iii, 16 माणुष्य)। रशषाणां सः (iii, 18 माणुस्य)। अन्तस्थेभ्यो॰ (iii, 2 माणुस)। लोपे॰ (iii, 24 माणुस्स)। पंसि॰ (i, 11 माणुस्सअ)। स्वराणां॰ (ii, 1) माणुस्सा ॥ ‡ C here gives the same gloss as the preceding, omitting only the initial स्वरो॰ ॥

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(१) C reads तं तु तुवं तुहं ॥ तुमं सौ स॰; D तं तुं तुवं तुहं तुमं सौ स॰ ॥ (२) C D read परत एते पंच आदेशा भवंति ॥ (३) C reads तं तु तुवं तुहं ॥ त्वं तुमं दिट्ठो ॥ (४) C दिट्ठो, D दिट्ठो ॥ (५) C D place this sútra after the following. (६) C D add तुमं तं ॥ (७) C D read तुए तुमं तं च भवति। सविभक्तेः ॥ (८) C D place this example before the other, and add तं भणामि ॥ (९) C D place this sútra before the preceding one. (१०) So B, A तुम्भे, C तुम्हे, D तुम्हे ॥ (११) A places जसि परे after भवति ॥ (१२) So B; A मणिस्सा, C D माणुस्सा; in C मणुस्सा is corrected by later hand, but the original reading (माणुस्सा is supported by the marginal gloss (q. v.). (१३) A सूरा, B शूरा: ; C D add the Skr. translation यूयं मनुष्याः शूराः (C in MS. सूराः) ॥ (१४) A तुम्भे, B तुम्भे ॥ (१५) A ॰दस् ॥ (१६) A मणुस्सा, C D मणुस्सा ॥ (१७) C D add Skr. युष्मान् मनुष्यान् भणामि ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ते तुमे तइ तए टाया(१) ॥ २३ ॥

युष्मदः(२) टावचने (३)परे ते तुमे तइ तए एते आदेशा भवंति । सविभक्तेः ॥ किं(४) ते कतं(५) । तुमे *दिट्ठो(६) । †तइ मज्झं(७) कतं(५) । तए ‡पलातं(८) ॥

॥ 24 ॥ तुमाहिं तुमाहिंतो[illegible] तुमातो[illegible] तइत्तो(११) [illegible] ॥ २४ ॥

युष्मदः(१२) पंचम्येकवचने परे तुमाहिं(१३) तुमाहिंतो(१४) तुमातो(१५) तइत्तो(११) एते आदेशा भवंति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमाहिं अहं सूरो(१६) तुमाहिंतो(१७) अहं सुहओ(१८) । §तुमातो(१०) अहं ||णाणी(१९) । तइत्तो(११) निक्खंतो(२०) ॥ (C D) ॥

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* C दिट्ठो । दृष्टः ॥ स्वरादि० (ii, 5) इत्य् अनेन सूत्रेण ऋ इत्य् अस्य दि भवति (दिष्टः) । वर्गे (iii, 3) इत्य् अनेन सूत्रेण ष इति षकारस्य लोपः । ट स्थितं (दिटः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 दिट्टः) । सस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दिट्ठः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 दिट्ठओ) । स्वराणां० (ii, 1 दिट्ठो) ॥ † C B त्वया मध्यं कृतं ॥ ‡ B पलातं । प्रलातं ॥ C पलत्तं । प्रलप्तं ॥ § B त्वदहं ज्ञानी ॥ || C ज्ञानी । वर्णविश्लेषे कृते सति ज्ञा इति स्थितं । ज्ञाश्च० (iii, 6) इत्य् अनेन ञलोपः (जानी) । ङजयानां० (iii, 19 नानी) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 नाणी) ॥

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(१) B च टा ॥ (२) A C D ०दष् ॥ (३) A om. परे-एते incl. (४) A किम्ते ॥ (५) A B C D कयं ; C D add the Skr. translations किं त्वया कृतं । त्वया दृष्टः । त्वया मम (B मध्यं in marginal gloss, q. v.) कृतं । त्वया प्रलप्तं (so C ; D प्रलपितं) ॥ (६) A B दिट्ठो, C दिठो, D दिट्ठो (?) ॥ (७) A मज्ज कयं, B मंचक्किय, C D मज्झ कयं ॥ (८) A पलते, B पलातं, C पलत्तं, D पलवितं ॥ (९) B तुमहिंतो ॥ (१०) A D तुमाउ, B C तुमाओ ॥ (११) C D तइंतो ॥ (१२) A ०दम ॥ (१३) A तुमाहिम् इत्यादयः, om. the other forms. (१४) B तुमहिंतो, A om. (१५) B C तुमाओ, D तुमाउ, A om. (१६) B सूवो ; D adds the Skr. translations त्वद् अहं शूरः । त्वद् अहं सुभगः । त्वद् अहं ज्ञानी । त्वद् अहं निष्क्रान्तः, C om. them in the text, but gives them in the marginal gloss. (१७) A om. तुमाहिंतो ॥ (१८) B orig. संहओ, corr. सु० ; D सुहउ ॥ (१९) B आणी, A C D णाणी (see iii, 6. iii, 19). (२०) So D ; C णि०, A णिक्खाणो, B एक्खवंतो ॥

युष्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे [३]तुह तुज्झ[४] तुम्ह[५] एते आदेशा भवंति। सविभक्तेः॥ *तुह सीलं[६]। तुज्झ[१] कलाओ[७]। तुम्ह[८] गुणा[९] ॥

अत[१०] ऊर्द्धं[११] अस्मदध्यायो भवति[१२]॥

अस्मदः[१३] टावचने परे मे मए भवतः। सविभक्तेः[१४]॥ †मे कतं[१५]। मए दिट्ठं[१६]॥

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* C तव शीलं। तव कलाः। तव गुणाः॥ † B मया कृतं॥

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(१) A तुभ, B तुभ्भ॥ (२) B तुम्ह, C D तुम्ह॥ (३) A om. तुह, तुज्झ, तुम्ह॥ (४) B तुभ्भ॥ (५) B तुम्ह, D तुम्हा॥ (६) A शीलं॥ (७) A कालाओ, B कला॥ (८) A B तुम्ह॥ (९) A गुणो॥ (१०) B इत, D अतः॥ (११) B C D ऊर्द्ध॥ (१२) A निरूप्यते॥ (१३) A C दृष्॥ (१४) A B om. (१५) A B C D कर्य; C D add the Skr. translations मया कृतं। मया दृष्टं॥ (१६) A दिष्ठ, B दिट्ठ॥ (१७) So A; B C D मइंतो॥

अस्मदः(१) पंचम्येकवचने परे मइत्तो(२) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ *मइत्तो(३) तुमं सूरो(४) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ अम्हाहिंतो(५) भ्यसि ॥ २८ ॥

अस्मदो(६) भ्यसि परे अम्हाहिंतो(५) भवति । सविभक्तेः(७) ॥ अम्हाहिंतो(८) तुमं सूरो(९) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ (१०)मह मज्झ(११) ङसि ॥ ३० ॥

अस्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे मह मज्झ(११) भवतः । सविभक्तेः ॥ †मह सीलं(१२) । मज्झ गुणा(१३) ॥

॥ 31 ॥ अम्ह(१४) आमि ॥ ३१ ॥

अस्मद(१५) आमि परे अम्हं(१६) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ ‡अम्हं(१६) चिय ते दोसा(१७) ॥

॥ 31ᵃ ॥ ॥ C D ॥ ३२ ॥

॥ I ॥ इति चंडकृते प्राकृतलक्षणे विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं समाप्तं ॥ १ ॥

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* C मइंतो । मत् ॥ † C मम सीलं(१८) । मम गुणाः ॥ ‡ B अस्माकमेव दोषाः ॥

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(१) A ०द्स ॥ (२) C D मइंतो; B इंतो om. म; A से मए भवतः (see i, 27). (३) A मइत्तो, B C D मइंतो ॥ (४) A सूरः; B places it before तुमं; D adds Skr. translation त्वं शूरः ॥ (५) A अम्हाहिंतो ॥ (६) B ०दः ॥ (७) A B C om. (८) A अम्हाहिम्तो, B अम्हा० ॥ (९) A सूरो ॥ (१०) B om. sútra and comment, but gives the examples. (११) A मझ, C D मज्झो ॥ (१२) A सीलं; C D add मज्झ सीलं । मह गुणा ॥ (१३) B सील ॥ (१४) D अम्हम् ॥ (१५) B C D ०दः ॥ (१६) D अम्हं ॥ (१७) B दोषाः; C D add the Skr. translation अस्माकम् एव ते दोषाः ॥ (१८) MS. सिलं ॥

॥ II ॥ अथ स्वरविधानम् आह ॥ २ ॥

॥ 1ª ॥ D ॥ १ª ॥

॥ 1 ॥ 1 ॥ स्वराणां स्वरे(१) प्रकृतिलोपसंधयः ॥ १ ॥

स्वराणां स्वरे परे(२) (३)प्रकृतिर् लोपस् संधयश् च भवंति । *इह(४) अच्छति(५) । †इहच्छति(६) । ‡इहागतो(७) ॥ §मह(८) इव हितो । ||देविंदवंदितो(९) । ¶मक्कीसाणा(१०) ॥ **स ईसरो(११) । ††तियसीसो(१२) । ‡‡गच्छेसो(१३) ॥ §§चंदुज्जला(१४) । ||||तपोपरोहो ॥ (१५)सा ऊढा । ¶¶नीसासूसासा(१६) । ***मोरो(१७) ॥ †††गामओ(१८) गामो ॥

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* C इह अच्छइ । प्रकृति । अत्र तिष्ठति । अस्य साधनिका । स्वरो॰ (ii, 4) इत्य् अनेन अकारस्य इ भवति (इत्र)। रेफः॰ (iii, 9 इत)। प्रथम॰ (iii, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्य थकारः (इथ)। पुनः प्रथम॰ (iii, 11) इत्यनेन थकारस्य धकारः (इध)। घो॰ (iii, 13 इह)। इह इति सिद्धं ॥ तिष्ठति(१९) । कगचज॰ (iii, 34 इष्ठति)। स्वरो॰ (ii, 4) इत्यनेन इकारस्य अकारः (अष्ठति)। षाङ्ः (iii, 8 अषति)। शषसा॰ (iii, 18 असति)। सस्य छत्वम्ः (iii, 14 अछति)। लोपं॰ (iii, 24) तस्मिन॰ (iii, 26 अच्छति)। पुनः कगचज॰ (iii, 34 अच्छइ) ॥ † B C अत्र अकारस्य लोपः ॥ ‡ B इहागतः। C संधि। अत्र आगतः ॥ § B मख इव स्थितः ॥ || C लोपः। देवेन्द्रवन्दितः ॥ ¶ B शक्रस्य(२०) ईशानस्य। अलोपः ॥ C लोपः । शक्र अग्रे ईशान । द्विवयणे बहुवयणं (see ii, 12) । शक्रस्य ईशानस्य शक्रेशानौ ॥ ** B स ईश्वरः। C संधिः। ,सच्या ईश्वरः। सचीश्वरः ॥ †† C लोपः। त्रिदश अग्रे ईशः। त्रिदशेशः। त्रिदशानां ईशः ॥ ‡‡ C संधिः। पक्षाणां ईशः ॥ §§ C लोपः। चंद्र अग्रे उज्वला। चंद्रवत् उज्वला ॥ |||| B तपसः उपरोधः। C संधिः। तपोपरोधः ॥ ¶¶ B निःश्वासस्य उच्छ्वासस्य। अलोपः। C लोपः। (२१) निःश्वासस्य उच्छ्वासस्य। निःश्वासोच्छ्वासौ ॥ *** C संधिः। मोरो। मयूरः ॥ ††† B ग्रामतः ग्रामः। C गामाउ गामो। प्रकृतिः। गामो गामो। संधिः। ग्रामात् ग्रामः। but see note to translation.

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(१) B om. (२) B C D परतः ॥ (३) So A B; C D प्रकृतिलोपसंधयश्च ॥ (४) A has only the examples marked * and §, om. all others; B places *, §, ‡, †. (५) A अच्छई, B C D अच्छइ ॥ (६) B C D इहच्छइ ॥ (७) B इहागओ, C इहागओ, D इहागउ ॥ (८) A महई वहिउ, B महइवहिय (see marginal gloss), C D om. this example. (९) B ॰दिज, D ॰दिउ, A C om. (see ii, 2). (१०) B ॰साणो, A om. (११) C D सईसरो, B सइसरो, A om. (१२) B तीसो, A om. (१३) B गच्छसो, A om. (१४) B चंदज्जला, A om. (१५) B सोढो, C सो ऊढो, D आउढा or डाउढा (?) ॥ (१६) So B; A om., C D नीसा॰ ॥ (१७) C D add मऊरो ॥ (१८) B गामागामो। गामो गामाक गामो, C गामाउ गामो, D गामाउ गामो ॥ (१९) So MS. and accordingly the explanation षाङ्ः ॥ (२०) MS. शक्रस्य ईशानस्य॰ ॥ (२१) MS. निःश्वा॰, उश्वा॰ ॥

बुद्धी(१) इमा* । †बुद्धिंदे।(२) । बुद्धीसो‡ ॥ बुद्धीओ(३) । नईओ§ ॥

॥ 1ᵇ ॥ D ॥ १ᵇ ॥

॥ 1ᶜ ॥ D ॥ १ᶜ ॥

॥ 2 ॥ (३)संयोगे परे लोपः ॥ २ ॥

(४)संयोगे परे स्वरे परतः पूर्व्वस्वरस्य(५) नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥ धनाढ्यः(६) धनड्ढो(७) । देव इन्द्रः(८) देविंदो । कृत उद्योगः(९) कतुज्जोओ(१०) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ ह्रस्वः संयोगे ॥ ३ ॥

स्वराणां ह्रस्वत्वं(११) भवति । (१२)संयोगेऽचरे(१३) परे ॥ (१४)कव्वं(१५) । कज्जं । ‖इच्छितं(१६) । तिक्खं¶ । **सिग्घो(१७) । ††उड्ढं(१८) । सुज्जो(१९) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ स्वरोऽनुस्वारे ॥ ४ ॥

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* C बुद्धी इमा । प्रकृतिः ॥ † B बुद्धीन्द्रः । C लोपः । बुद्धि इंद्रः ॥ ‡ C बुद्धीसो । संधिः ॥ § C प्रकृतिः । बुद्धयः । नद्यः ॥ ‖ B ईप्सित । C इच्छिअं । ईप्सितं ॥ शे वर्गाद्यं (iii, 4 ईसितं) । सस्य० (iii, 14 ईखितं) । लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 ईच्खितं) । ह्रस्वत्वं (ii, 3 इच्खितं) । कगचज० (iii, 34 इच्छिअं) ॥ ¶ C तीक्ष्णं । वर्णविश्लेषे कृते सति क् ष् ण् अं इति स्थिताः भवन्ति । ष्णष्मा० (iii, 18 तीक्सणं) । म्राम्र० (iii, 6 तीक्सं) । शे० (iii, 4 तीसं) । सस्य० (iii, 14 तीखं) । लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 तीक्खं) । ह्रस्वत्वं (ii, 3 तिक्खं) ॥ ** B स्निग्धं ॥ †† B ऊर्द्धं ॥

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(१) B D बु० here and afterwards. (२) B D बुद्धीदो (but see marginal gloss). (३) B prefixes एवं बुद्धी ॥ (४) C D संयोगपरे ॥ (५) A पूर्वस्वरूपस्य ॥ (६) A ०ढ्ढः, B ०ढ्यः ॥ (७) A धनाड्ढो, B धनड्ढो, C D धणड्ढो ॥ (८) B देवेन्द्रः ॥ (९) A उद्यो, C D उद्योतः ॥ (१०) A कृतुज्जो, B C कउज्जोओ, D कउज्जोउ ॥ (११) C prefixes पूर्वस्य ॥ (१२) C D place this clause before ह्रस्वत्वं ॥ (१३) C D संयोगाचरे ॥ (१४) C prefixes धणड्ढो (see ii, 2); C D prefix the Skr. translations काव्यं । कार्यं । ईप्सितं । तीक्ष्णं । शीघ्रः । ऊर्द्ध्वं । सूर्यः ; see also B in the marginal gloss. (१५) B कव्वं ॥ (१६) A B C D इच्छिअं ॥ (१७) A om. this and the remaining examples; C सिग्घा ॥ (१८) B उड्ढं (see iii, 5. 9), C D उड्ढं ॥ (१९) B सुज्जा ॥

स्वरो ऽन्यो ऽन्यस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ *कातव्वं(१)। †सुदूणं(२)। इंगाला(३)। B C D। ‡बुद्धीए(४)। धेनूए(५)। नेपुरं(६)। B C D। कुचापि गच्छति(७) कत्थ(८) पि गच्छति(९) ॥

ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने स्वरा(११) भवंति। रि च भवति(१२) ॥ घृतं घतं(१४)। कृत्वा कादूण(१५)। दृश्यते दीसते(१६)। ऋषिः(१७) इसि(१८)। पृथ्वी पुथवी(१९)। वृद्धः(२०) वुड्ढो(२१)। वृंतं(२२) वेंटं(२३)। उत्कृष्टं उक्कोसं(२४)। ऋणं रिणं। (C D) ॥

ऐतः(२६) स्थाने ए भवति ॥ §वेतड्ढो(२७)। तेल्लं(२८)। सेंधवं। ||वेरं(२९) ॥

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* B कर्त्तव्यं ॥ † B सूचीनां (३०) ॥ ‡ C बुद्धा ॥ § B वेतालः ॥ || C मम वैरं केनापि सह न ॥

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(१) A कायच्चं, B कायव्व, C कायव्वं, D कायव्वं (see iii, 29 and Lassen Inst. Prac. pp. 141. 365); C D add the following Skr. translations कर्त्तव्यं। सज्जनं। अंगाराः; see also B in the marginal gloss. (२) A असुइणं, D स्वइणं ॥ (३) A इगाल, B इंगालो ॥ (४) A B D बु॰; D prefixes बुद्धे ॥ (५) A C D धेणूए ॥ (६) A मेउरं, B नेऊरं, C णेवरं, D णेउरं ॥ (७) A om. (८) A om., B कत्थं वि, D कच्च वि ॥ (९) A B C D गच्छइ ॥ (१०) B स्वरो ॥ (११) B om. (१२) B reads अन्यस्वरो भवति ॥ (१३) A om. (१४) A B C D घयं ॥ (१५) A काउण, B काडुण, C D काऊण; D adds तूण प्रत्यय ॥ (१६) A B C दीसइ, D दीसए ॥ (१७) So C; A B D ऋषि ॥ (१८) So A B C D; C D add व्यास ऋषिः वास इसी ॥ (१९) A B C D पुहवी ॥ (२०) A B C D वृद्धो ॥ (२१) A B वुड्ढो, C D वुड्ढो ॥ (२२) A B D वृत्तं ॥ (२३) A विठं, B वितं, C D विंटं ॥ (२४) A उक्कोसं, B उक्कोसो, C उक्क। सं, D उक्कसं (see iii, 8). (२५) A ऐरेतः ॥ (२६) A एत ॥ (२७) A वेयड्ढो, B वेयड्ढो, C D वेयड्ढो; C D prefix the Skr. translations वैताढ्यः। तैलं। सैंधवं। वैरं; see also B in marg. gloss. (२८) A तेल्लं ॥ (२९) C D add मज्झ ण केण वि (see marg. gloss). (३०) MS. सुचीनां ॥

ऐतः[१] स्थाने अइ[२] च[३] भवति। ऐश्वर्यं[४] अइसरियं[५]। वैरं[६] वइरं[७] ॥

॥ 8 ॥ ओर्[८] औतः ॥ ८ ॥

औतः[९] स्थाने ओ[१०] भवति ॥ [११]ओसहं[१२]। [१३]सोवचलं[१४] ॥

॥ 9 ॥ अउ[१५] च ॥ ९ ॥

औतः[९] स्थाने अउ च[१६] भवति ॥ [१७]सउरो[१८]। कउरवा। कउला। (CD) ॥

॥ 10 ॥ एदोद्रलोपा[१९] विसर्ज्जनीयस्य[२०] ॥ १० ॥

एत् ओत् र लोपा[२१] विसर्ज्जनीयस्य स्थाने भवंति ॥ कतरे[२२] गच्छति[२३]। *दित्तरूपे[२४]। देवो। †वंभणो। ‡पुणरवि[२५]। स[२६]। एस[२६]। [२७]वति[२६]। बुद्धि[२८]। §वछ[२९]।

॥ 11 ॥ [३०]अदागमोऽनुस्वारलोपौ च व्यंजनस्य[३१] ॥ ११ ॥

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* C दीप्तरूपः ॥ † C ब्राह्मणः ॥ ‡ C पुणर वि। (पुनः अपि)। र प्रत्ययः (ii, 10 पुनर् अपि)। अव्ययोर् अलोपः (ii, 18 पुणरपि)। प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12 पणरवि) ॥ § C वधूः ॥

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(१) A B एत ॥ (२) B अई ॥ (३) C om. B इत्ययमादेशो ॥ (४) C ऐश्वर्यं ॥ (५) B C D ०रियं ॥ (६) D वैरं ॥ (७) B om.; C D add the example वै वइ, whereto C has the marg. gloss वै स्फुटमिश्रययोः ॥ (८) A ऊर्, D उर् ॥ (९) B चोत ॥ (१०) A ऊर्, B ऊ, D उ ॥ (११) C pref. Skr. औषधं D ऊषधं ॥ (१२) A ऊसहं, D उसहं ॥ (१३) C pref. Skr. सौवर्चलं, D सौवर्चलं ॥ (१४) A सोवच्चलं, C सोवचलं, D सोवचलं: C D add the example सौधं सोधं ॥ (१५) B अचो ॥ (१६) B C om. (१७) C D pref. Skr. सौरः। कौरवाः। कौलाः ॥ (१८) B सउरि ॥ (१९) A ०प, D ०पाः, B (corrupt) एदोदसे ॥ याः ॥ (२०) B ०नौयस्थाने ॥ (२१) B (corrupt) एदो दूलोया ॥ (२२) A कयोरे, B कयादि; C D read कयरे and pref. Skr. कतरः गच्छति ॥ (२३) A गच्छइ, B C D गच्छइ; C D add the example अंतःपुरं। अंतेउरं ॥ (२४) A दित्तरूवे, B तित्तरूवे, D दित्तरूवे; C adds वीरजिणे (in marg. gloss वीरजिनः), D वाजजिणे ॥ (२५) D पुणरवि; C D pref. Skr. पुनः अपि; A om. this example; B adds एसं दिट्ठं (MS. एवं दिट्ठं) ॥ (२६) A om. (२७) B C D वइ; C adds Skr. पतिः, D पति ॥ (२८) A B बुद्धी, D बुद्धी; C had originally बधी, now it has been changed to वधूः; B C D place वछ। बुद्धी ॥ (२९) A वछ, B वछ ॥ (३०) C D अदागमानुस्वारलोपा, om. च ॥ (३१) A विज्ञनस्य ॥

(१)अकारागमोऽनुस्वारलोपो च व्यंजनस्य भवंति ॥ *अरहंतो(२) । †अरिताणं(३) । (CD) ॥ ‡कम्मं(४) । (CD) । §सीसं(५) ॥ मई(६) । ||सिरेणं(७) । (CD) ॥

॥ 12 ॥ ¶द्वित्वं बहुत्वेन(८) ॥ १२ ॥

(९)द्विवचनं बहुवचनेन(१०) वाच्यं ॥ **हत्था । पाया । देवा । बंभणा(११) । C D ॥

॥ 13 ॥ षष्ठीवत्(१२) चतुर्थी ॥ १३ ॥

षष्ठीवत्(१३) चतुर्थी द्रष्टव्या ॥ ††नमो(१४) जिनस्स(१५) । नमो(१६) गुरुणो(१७) ॥

॥ 13a ॥ C D ॥ १३अ ॥

॥ 13b ॥ C D ॥ १३ब ॥

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* C अर्हत् । अद्रागमः ॥ † B अरित् इति अत्र नकारस्य च आगमः ॥ C अरित् । अद्रागमः ॥ ‡ B कर्म्मेति अत्र रेफलोपो मकारोऽनुस्वारः (sic!) ॥ C कर्म्मन् ॥ § B शीर्षमित्यत्र रेफलोपः (sic!) ॥ C शिरस् ॥ || B शिरसि(१७) सलोपः ॥ C शिरस् ॥ ¶ C द्विवचने(१८) बहुवचनं चतुर्थ्यविभक्तीए छट्ठी(१९) भवइ । जह चत्य तह पाया । वंदामि देवाणं(२०) देवाणं ॥ ** C हस्तौ । पादौ । देवौ । ब्राह्मणौ ॥ †† B नमो जिनाय इति नमो गुरवे इत्यत्र चतुर्थी षष्ठी ज्ञेया ॥ C नमः जिनाय । नमः गुरवे ॥

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(१) A adds भवति, C D read अकारागमानुस्वारलोपाश्च ॥ (२) B अरहन्तो ॥ (३) A अरिताणं, B C D अरिताणं ॥ (४) B adds रम्मं (सम्मं?, see App. C D), D prefixes कर्मन्, शीर्षम्, शिरसा to कम्मं, सीसं, सिरेणं respectively. (५) A सीसं ॥ (६) B मेई; A C D om. (७) A om. (८) C D बहुवचनेन ॥ (९) C D prefix कर्मणां आदीनां त्यादीनां च विभक्तीनां ॥ (१०) D ब० ॥ (११) A बभणा (see ii, 15). (१२) B C D om. (१३) B षष्ठी, D षष्ठीव ॥ (१४) C D णमो ॥ (१५) A जिणस्स, B जिणाणं, C D जिणस्स ॥ (१६) C D add णमो अरहंताणं ॥ (१७) MS. शिरसि ॥ (१८) MS. द्विव० ॥ (१९) MS. now has चउत्थिविभत्तीए, om. छट्ठी ; but in the place of [illegible] and [illegible] there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (२०) MS. देवाणि (cf. i, 6).

॥ 14 ॥ न युतस्रुता:[१] ॥ १४ ॥

[२]युता वर्णा: [३]ङ्कारञकारौ च[४] न भवंति ॥ C D । D ॥

॥ 15 ॥ अनुस्वारो बहुलं ॥ १५ ॥

अनुस्वारस्य क्वचिल् लोपो भवति । क्वचिद् आगम:[५] । क्वचित् प्रकृति:[६] । C D ॥ बंभणा[७] । *मंजरो[८] । विंचुओ[९] । †चुनी[१०] । काणं[११] । काइं[१२] । नईहिं[१३] ॥ ‡सक्कतं[१४] । (C D) ॥ संगो[१४] । भंगो[१४] । (C D) । दुद्धं[१५] । समिद्धं[१५] ॥

॥ 16 ॥ गोर् गावि[१६] ॥ १६ ॥

गो शब्दस्य गावि[१७] इति[१८] भवति निपातेन ॥ §गावी[१९] । गावीओ[२०] । गावीं[२१] । गावीए[२२] । गावीहिं[२३] । गावीहिंतो[२१] । गावीणं[२४] । गावीसुं[२५] ॥

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* C मार्ज्जारः ॥ † C चूर्णः (cf. note १०). ‡ C संस्कृतं ॥ § C गौः । गावः or गाः । गां । गवा । गोः । गोः । गवि (see i, 9.) । गोभिः । गोभ्यः । गवां or गोनां । गोषु ॥

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(१) C D insert न (see iii, 16). (२) C युतवर्णाः, D युताः ॥ (३) C D read ङकारञकारणकाराश्च प्राकृते न भवंति ॥ (४) B om. (५) C D ॰मो भवति ॥ (६) C D प्रकृतिर्भवति (see App.). (७) D बंभणो ॥ (८) So A; B मज्जारो (see H. C. ii, 132); C D read संज्जारो (see H. C. i, 26) and add मज्जारो (see H. C. ii, 132); D further adds चामस ॥ (९) A om., B विंचुओ ; D has विञ्चुड with प्रकृति after it; C reads विंछुड which is explained in the marginal gloss as विंछुकः । प्रकृतिः ॥ (१०) A चुनी, B चुन्नो, C चुण्णो, D चुन्नो ॥ (११) So A; B काऊणं (काउणं ? see ii, 6); C D काऊणं (see H. C. i, 27). (१२) A काउं, B काउं (काउं ?, see Lassen, p. 365. H. C. iv, 214). (१३) C D नदि ; D gives it as an example of लोप ; C explains it in the marginal gloss as नदी ; originally the gloss had नदि, but it has been corrected to नदी ॥ (१४) A om., B C D सक्कयं ॥ (१५) C D om., but see App. (१६) A गावि, D गावी ॥ (१७) D गावी ॥ (१८) B इति निपातनेन, C D गवं प्राकृते भवति ॥ (१९) B गावि, C D गावं ॥ (२०) A गावीओ, B गाविओ, D गावीओ; C D add गावीओ । गावी । (२१) A B om. (२२) A D गावीए, B गावीए ॥ (२३) A गावीहिं, D गावीहिं ॥ (२४) D गावीणं ॥ (२५) D गावीसु ; C D add गावीसु ॥

॥ 17 ॥ एवार्थे [१]णइच्चेयच्चिया:[२] ॥ १७ ॥

[३]एव शब्दार्थे णइ [२]च्चेय च्चिय एते आदेशा भवंति ॥ गत्या एव [४]गति णइ । [५]मति णइ । *तं च्चेय[६] । †सच्चिय[७] ॥

॥ 18 ॥ अप्यस्योर अलोप: ॥ १८ ॥

अपि अपि च[८] एतयोर् अस्य लोपो भवति[९] ॥ [१०]सुरो पि । [११]कतं पि । तं सि इह ॥

॥ 19 ॥ [१२]त्तु त्ता च्चा ट्टु त्तुं तूण[१३] ओ[१४] प्पि[१५] पूर्वकालार्थे[१६] ॥ १९ ॥

एते[१७] पूर्वकालार्थे[१८] भवंति ॥ वंदित्तु[१९] । ‡वंदित्ता[२०] । §सुच्चा[२१] । ||कट्टु । ¶भोत्तुं[२२] । ¶भोत्तूण[२३] । ‡वंदिओ[२४] । [२५]एवं कप्पि** । C D ॥

॥ 20 ॥ मत्वर्थे [२६]आल्लइल्लौ[२७] ॥ २० ॥

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* B तमेव ॥ † B स एव ॥ ‡ B C वंदित्वा ॥ § B श्रुत्वा । C भुक्त्वा (see note २१ || B C कृत्वा ॥ ¶ C भुक्त्वा(२८). ** B एव कृत्वा ॥

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(१) A B णइ॰ ॥ (२) A ॰चेप चिय, B ॰च्चियेम् ॥ (३) B एवं ॥ (४) A B C D गइ ॥ (५) A C मइ णइ, B मइं णइं, D om. whole example, C prefixes Skr. मत्या एव ॥ (६) A तम्वेय, D त च्चेय ; C pref. Skr. तं एव, D तत् एव ॥ (७) So B ; A ॰च्चिय (च्चिय ? see p. 20, note १३), C ॰च्चिय, D ॰च्चेय, ; C D pref. Skr. स एव ॥ (८) B C D चानयोर अलोपो भवति ॥ (९) A लोपः स्यात् ॥ (१०) A B C D वि ; C D pref. Skr. transl. शूरः अपि । कृतम् अपि । त्वम् असि अत्र ॥ (११) A कयं पि, B कयं प्पि, C D कयं वि ॥ (१२) A तु ॥ (१३) C D add तुआण ॥ (१४) D उ ; C D add वि ॥ (१५) C D om., but add प्पिणु वेप्पिणु ॥ (१६) So A ; B C D om. (१७) B D om. (१८) B C पूर्वकालेऽर्थे ; C adds क्त्वा इत्यस्यैते आदेशा भवंति ॥ (१९) A वंदितु, B वदितु ; C D add सव्वे वि जिणिंदचंदे । वंदित्वा सर्वान् अपि जिनेंद्रचंद्रान् ॥ (२०) B वंदीत्ता ॥ (२१) A सुच्चा, C D भुच्चा ॥ (२२) D भोत्तुं ॥ (२३) C भोत्तूण, D भोत्तूण or भोत्तूण ? ; C D add काउआण, see App. (२४) A वंदिवं, D वंदिउ ; C D add वंदेवि ॥ (२५) A एउ क॰, B एवं क॰ ; C D om. this example. (२६) A आल D अल ॥ (२७) A इल, B इंलर ॥ (२८) MS. भोक्त्वा.

मत्वर्थे[१] एतौ प्रत्ययौ[२] भवतः[३] ॥ [४]जडालो[५] जडिल्लो[६] । फडालो[७]. फडिल्लो[८] । (C D) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ ता-ताव[९] तावतः ॥ २१ ॥

तावत् छन्दस्य[१०] ता तावौ[११] भवतः ॥ (C D) ॥

ता* विच्छिन्नं[१२] गयणं ताव च्चिय[१३] जलहिणो[१४] पि[१५] गंभीरा ।

ता[१६] †गुरुआ[१७] सुरसेला[१८] धारेहि[१९] न[२०] जाव [illegible]ज्झंते[२१] ॥१॥

॥ 22 ॥ उपमाने पिव-इव-विव-विय[२२]-व्व[२३]-व-जहा[२४] वतः ॥ २२ ॥

उपमानार्थे[२५] वतः[२६] शब्दस्य एते आदेशा भवंति ॥ ‡चंदणं[२७] पिव । चमरमिव । §कमलं विव तुज्झ[२८] मुहं । गिम्हो[२९] विय । सायरव्व[३०] ।

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* C तावत् विस्तीर्णं गगनं तावत् एव जलधयः च गंभीराः । यावत् गुरवः सुरशैलाः धाराभिः न यावत् उह्यंते ॥ † C गुरुआ । गुरवः । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 गुरुओ) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 गुरुआ) । प्रथमैकवचनं सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C चंदणं । अनुस्वारो बहुलं (ii, 15). § C तव मुखं कमलवत् (३१) ॥

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(१) B om., C D add चाल इत ॥ (२) A om. (३) A स्तः ॥ (४) C D prefix Skr. translations जटामान् । फटावान् ॥ (५) A जडाला ॥ (६) B जडिल्लो, and places ६, ५. (७) A फडाला; B orig. फडालो, but corrected to फलालो ॥ (८) B फडिल्लो. placing ८, ७. (९) C D read ता-ताव-जा-जावाः, तावद्यावतोः ॥ (१०) C D add यावच्छन्दस्य तु ॥ (११) C D add जाजावौ ॥ (१२) A वच्छिन्न, C D विच्छिण्णं ॥ (१३) A चिच्च, C D चिय ॥ (१४) B जयहिणो ॥ (१५) A व, B वि, C D य ॥ (१६) C D जा; A om. this line. (१७) D गरुआ ॥ (१८) B सुरलेण ॥ (१९) B धीरेहिं, c. m. (२०) C D च ॥ (२१) B जा तुलिज्झंति, C D जाव लिज्झंति ॥ (२२) B विवं ॥ (२३) D च्च (see H. C. ii, 150). (२४) B चचा (sic). (२५) A om., C उपमानेऽर्थे, D उपमार्थे; B adds पिव इव व्विव विवं व्व व जहा ॥ (२६) A वच् इ०, C वतु, D वत ॥ (२७) A B चं०; C D prefix the Skr. translations चंदनवत् । चमरवत् (D MS. चमरं वत्) । कमलवत् । ग्रीष्मवत् । सागरवत् (D सावरवत्) । ग्रैवस्य वत् ॥ (२८) A तुज्झ, B तुम्ह ॥ (२९) C गिम्ह, D गिम्हं ॥ (३०) D सायरव्व, A च्चोपवच, B घोवघो ॥ (३१) MS. कमल विव ॥

येषस्य व[१] *एव[२] फणो तुह[३] भाति[४] अथा अदा संभो[५] ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ओत्वम्[६] अवापयोः ॥ २३ ॥

अव अपयोः स्थाने ओ[७] भवति ॥ अवहसितं[८] ओहसितं[९] अपसरितं[१०] ओसरितं[११] । अपवरकः[१२] ओवरओ[१३] ॥

॥ 24 ॥ खलोः[१४] खुः ॥ २४ ॥

†खलुशब्दस्य खुर् आदेशो भवति ॥ C D । एवं खु[१५] जंतपीलणं‡

॥ 25 ॥ तो वर्त्तमानार्थे[१६] ॥ २५ ॥

यो वर्त्तमानकालार्थे[१७] आन प्रत्ययस्[१८] तस्यार्थे तकारो भवति भिद्यमानं[१९] भिज्जंतं । कथ्यमानं कथिज्जंतं[२०] । साध्यमानं[२१] साहिज्जंतं[२२] । A ॥

॥ 26 ॥ [२३]भे सर्वासु युष्मदः ॥ २६ ॥

[२४]युष्मत् शब्दस्य सर्वासु[२५] विभक्तिषु[२६] भे[२७] भवति ॥ C D । भे णिसामेध[२८] यूयं निशम्यत[२९] । C D । भे भणामि युष्मान् भणामि भे कतं[३०] त्वया कृतं । C D ॥

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* C एव (फणः) तव भाति यथा संभ्रमत्(११) ॥ † C खलु इति अव्ययं निश्चयार्थे ‡ C यंत्रपीडनं ॥

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(१) A च ॥ (२) C येस ॥ (३) A वह ॥ (४) A B C D भाद ॥ (५) D संभ ; C place संभो अदा c. m. (६) A B D उत्वम् ॥ (७) B चोद ॥ (८) B C अवहासितं ॥ (९) A B ओहसियं, C ओहासियं, D उहसियं, B adds अपहसितं ओहसियं ॥ (१०) B om. (११) A B C ओसरियं, D उसरिय ॥ (१२) A अववरकः, B अपव॰कः ॥ (१३) B ओव॰रओ, D उवरउ ॥ (१४) A B खल, D खलो ॥ (१५) B खुज्जं । पीलणं ॥ (१६) A ॰नार्थे ॥ (१७) C D om. काल ; B ॰मानस्य कालार्थ ॥ (१८) B प्रत्ययस्यार्थे, om. त ॥ (१९) A भिद्यमानं, B भिद्यमानं, C भेद्य॰ ॥ (२०) A कथि॰, B C D कहि॰ ॥ (२१) om. (२२) B सोहि॰ ॥ (२३) C D place this sútra after i, 25 (i. e. after i, 25 of their own reckoning ; see App. C D). (२४) B युष्मदः स॰ ॥ (२५) B C D ... ॥ (२६) A adds परतो ॥ (२७) B भेद ॥ (२८) C D णि॰ ॥ (२९) So D ; A B ... निशुत ॥ (३०) A B कतं, C D कयं ॥ (३१) MS. सं॰ ॥

॥ 27 ॥ (१)अस्मदो म्मि(२) ॥ २७ ॥

अस्मद् शब्दस्यापि सर्वासु विभक्तिषु म्मे भवति(३) ॥ C D । C । म्मे लेहेन(४) भणामो भे तुम्भे(५) वयं युष्मान् लेखेन(६) भणामः । C । इत्यर्थः । D ॥

॥ 27ᵃ—27ˡ ॥ C D ॥ २७ᵃ—२७ˡ ॥

॥ 28 ॥ इतेर् इय: ॥ २८ ॥

॥ इति शब्दस्य इय आदेशो भवति ॥ इय(७) एवं ॥

॥ 29 ॥ भावे त्तण:(८) ॥ २९ ॥

भावार्थे(९) त्तण:(१०) प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (११)गामत्तणं । नयरत्तणं(१२) ॥

। 29ᵃ ॥ C D ॥ २९ᵃ ॥

॥ II ॥ इति (१३)श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे(१४) (१५)स्वरविधानं(१६) द्वितीयं समाप्तं(१७) ॥ २ ॥

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(१) C D place this sútra after i, 81 (*i. e.* after i, 81ᵃ of their own reckoning, see App. C D). (२) C D add म्मे सर्वांसु ॥ (३) A om. the whole commentary, instead of which it has [illegible] (४) C D लेहेण ॥ (५) B म तुम्भे ॥ (६) B om. (७) A इय ॥ (८) A B त्तण ॥ (९) A भावेऽर्थे ॥ (१०) A त्तण, B त्तण ॥ (११) C D pref. the Skr. translations ग्रामस्य भाव: । नगरस्य भाव: ॥ (१२) B C D नयर॰, C D add तीर्थंकरस्य भाव: तित्थयरत्तणं ॥ (१३) A om. from श्री to लक्षणे ॥ (१४) B ॰लक्षण ॥ (१५) B om. स्वर ॥ (१६) A ॰विधान ॥ (१७) A om.

III ॥ अथ व्यंजनविधानम् आह ॥ ३ ॥

॥ 1 ॥ ह्राद्[1] यवौ[2] लोप्यौ[3] ॥ १ ॥

[4]ह्रात् हकारात्[5] यकारवकारौ परस्थ[6] अवस्थितौ लोप्यौ भवतः ॥ गुह्यते गुज्झते[7] । दह्यते[8] दज्झते[9] । [10]विह्वलः विब्भलो[11] । जिह्वा[12] जिब्भा[13] ॥

॥ 2 ॥ [14]अवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं[15] ॥ २ ॥

अवलेभ्यः[16] परं[17] व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ [18]स्वयं सयं । स्वर्गं[19] सग्गं । श्रोतव्यं सोतव्वं[20] । काव्यं कव्वं[21] । शल्यं[22] सल्लं । विल्वं[23] विल्लं । अश्वं[24] अस्सं । श्रुतं सुतं[25] । श्लेष्मा सिम्भा[26] ॥

॥ 3 ॥ वर्गे[27] ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गे[28] च परे तत् लोप्यं[29] भवति[30] ॥ भक्तः[31] । भत्तो[32] ॥ रक्तं रत्तं[33] । C D । दुग्धं दुद्धं । वच्मि[34] वेम्मि । [36]षड्गं खग्गं[35] ।

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(१) A ह्रा ॥ (२) A वौ ॥ (३) D लोप्यौ ॥ (४) A om. comment ह्रात् to भवतः ॥ (५) D om., C ह्राद्वकाराद् ॥ (६) B परभावे स्थितौ ॥ (७) B om., C D गुज्झए, A गुज्झाए ॥ (८) A B om. (९) A om., B दज्झए, C दज्झाए, D दज्झए ॥ (१०) A om. this example. (११) B विब्भलो ॥ (१२) A om. (१३) B जिब्भा ॥ (१४) C D अव॰ ॥ (१५) B adds लोप्यं ॥ (१६) A एतेभ्यो ; B om. अव॰ to भवति ॥ (१८) The examples are rearranged ; their order in A is २०, २१, २३, २४, om. all the others ; B has २०, २५, १८, १९, २२, २३, २४, २५, २६ ; C D have १८, १९, २४, २०, २१, २२, २३, २६, om. २५ (see iii, 9). (२०) A C सोतव्वं, B सेतव्वं (corrupt for सोतव्वं), D सोतव्वं ॥ (२१) A कावं, D कव्वं ॥ (२४) C D अस्सं ॥ (२५) A सोत्तं, B सुत्तं ; C D om. this example. (२६) C सिम्भा ॥ (२७) B om. (२८) B वग्ग ॥ (२९) B लुप्यं ॥ (३०) B C D read वर्गे परे तत् पूर्वं व्यंजनं तत् लो॰ भ॰ ॥ (३१) A भक्तो, B भक्तो ॥ (३२) B भत्तो, D भत्तो ॥ (३३) B adds मुग्धं मुद्धं ; C D add मुग्धं मुद्धं ॥ (३४) B व॰ ॥ (३५) B खग्गं ॥

षट्पदः छप्पओ(१)। (२)खड्गं खग्गं। षण्मुखः(३) छम्मुहो(४)। आत्मा(५) अप्पा। उत्पलं उप्पलं। सद्भावं सब्भावं। *मन्मथः वम्महो(६)। प्राप्तं पत्तं। *प्रद्युम्नः पज्जुण्णो(७)। †अर्कः अक्को। उल्का उक्का। भास्करः भक्खरो। B C D। भस्त्रा वत्था(८) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ से(९) वर्गाद्यं ॥ ४ ॥

वर्गाद्यं(१०) से(९) परे लोप्यं भवति ॥ वृक्षः(११) वच्छो(१२)। (१३)क्षमा खमा। संवत्सरः संवच्छरो। मत्सरः मच्छरो। अप्सराः(१४) अच्छरा। ईप्सितं इच्छितं(१५) ॥

॥ 5 ॥ वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥ ५ ॥

वर्गात् परं अवर्ग्यं व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं(१६)। (१६)शक्रः सक्को। (१७)क्लीवः कीवो। (१८)विध्वं सितं विद्धं सितं(१९)। B C ॥

॥ 6 ॥ (२०)ज्ञात् च पंचमो वा ॥ ६ ॥

वर्गपरः ज्ञपरश् च वर्गपंचमो वा लोप्यो भवति ॥ ज्ञानं णाणं(२१)। (२२)यज्ञं जण्णं(२३)। लक्ष्मणः(२४) लक्खणो। (२५)लक्ष्मी लच्छी। C D। B C D। (२६)कृष्णं कण्हं ॥

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* C कामः ॥ † C सूर्यः ॥

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(१) B D छपउ; A om. this and the following examples, except Nos. ३, ६ and ८ ॥ (२) B खड्गौ खग्गो ॥ (३) A षट्मुखो ॥ (४) A छमुखो, B छमुहो; B C D place ३, ४, २ ॥ (५) B आत्मेाः ॥ (६) B मम्महो, C D वम्महो ॥ (७) C D पज्जुणो, and add धर्मः धम्मो ॥ (८) A झंझा झंझा, B C D झंभा ॥ (९) A C D से, B सेा ॥ (१०) B C D add वांजनं ॥ (११) A वृक्षो ॥ (१२) B वक्खो ॥ (१३) A om. the remainder (१४) B अप्सुरः, D अप्सुरा ॥ (१५) C इच्छितं, B D इच्छितं ॥ (१६) A सक्कं, B D सुक्खं। (१७) B कीवा कीवा ॥ (१८) D reads विध्वं विद्धं सितं सिद्धं (acc. sing. of विधुः सिद्धः) (१९) B C D सिद्धं ॥ (२०) A C D ज्ञा, B ज्ञ च ॥ (२१) A B C D णाणं (see iii, 19) (२२) A om. this example. (२३) B जण्णं ॥ (२४) A °णो, B लक्खणः ॥ (२५) B om. this example. (२६) A कण्णं कण्हं, B कृष्णं कण्हं, C D कृष्णं कण्हं ॥

॥ 7 ॥ द्वो वे[१] ॥ ७ ॥

दकारो [२]वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति ॥ दारं बारं । वेति किं । द्वारं[३] ॥

॥ 8 ॥ षाट् टः ॥ ८ ॥

षकारात् परश् टकारो वा[४] लोप्यो भवति ॥ उत्कृष्टं उक्कोसं[५] । [६]स्पष्टं फुटं[७] ॥ [८]पुट्ठं । [९]उक्किट्ठं ॥

॥ 9 ॥ [१०]रेफः पूर्वश्च च ॥ ९ ॥

[११]सर्व्वस्माद् व्यंजनात् परः पूर्व्वस्थश्[१२] च रेफो लोप्यो भवति ॥ तर्क्क तक्कं । अर्कः[१३] अक्को । मूर्खः मुक्खो[१४] । [१५]न्यग्रोधः णिग्गोहो[१६] । स्वर्गं सग्गं । शीघ्रः सिग्घो[१७] । अर्घः अग्घो[१८] । अर्पणं[१९] अप्पणं । वज्रं वज्जं[२०] । दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । उष्ट्रः उट्टो[२१] । सुवर्णं सुवण्णं । शत्रुः सत्तू[२२] । कर्त्तव्यं कातव्वं[२३] । कर्दमं कद्दमं । ऊर्द्ध्वं[२४] उद्धं[२५] । प्रवरः[२६] पवरो[२७] । C D । सर्पः सप्पो । विभ्रमः विब्भमो । दर्भः दब्भो । आम्रं अंबं[२८] । धर्मः धम्मो । सूर्यः सुज्जो । व्रतं वतं[२९] । पर्वतः पव्वतो[३०] । श्रुतं सुतं[३१] । ह्रस्वः हस्सो । C D ॥

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(१) C D add च ॥ (२) D वकारपरे ॥ (३) B द्वारं; C D add देरं दुवारं ॥ (४) B C om. (५) C D उक्कसं (see iii, 29 and App. C D in iii, 3), B उक्कोसं ॥ (६) B फुट्टं; C D om. the remainder. (७) B फुडं (? फुडं) (८) A om., B places ८, ७. (९) A om.; B उक्किट्टं, repeating उक्कट्टं before it. (१०) B om. the sutra; A रेफश्च, C D रेफ ॥ (११) B om. commentary, up to भवति ॥ (१२) D पूर्व्वस्थ चकच ॥ (१३) A om. this example; D places it before तक्क ॥ (१४) A मूखो, B मुक्खो ॥ (१५) A om. the remainder. (१६) C D णि० ॥ (१७) B ग्गेग्घो ॥ (१८) D adds चर्च्चा चच्चो ॥ (१९) B om., up to सुवर्णं incl. (२०) D repeats वज्जं ॥ (२१) C उट्ठो, and C D add दंष्ट्रा डाढा ॥ (२२) B स० ॥ (२३) B C D कायव्वं, and place this example before the preceding one. (२४) B ओर्द्धं, C D उर्द्ध; but C has a marginal correction in pencil ऊर्द्ध ॥ (२५) B ओद्धं, C उद्धं, D उद्धं ॥ (२६) C प्रवरो, with marginal correction in pencil प्रवरः ॥ (२७) B प्रवरो, D पवरो ॥ (२८) B अंबं, C अम्बं, D अंबं, (see H. C. ii, 56). (२९) B वयं, C D वयं ॥ (३०) B C D [illegible]
(३१) So B; C D सुयं ॥

॥ 10 ॥ [१]असंयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥

अत ऊर्द्ध्वं ये व्यंजनादेशास् ते असंयोगस्य भवंति ॥ दृढं घरं । स्तम्भः[२] थंभो ॥

॥ 11 ॥ प्रथमद्वितीययोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थौ ॥ ११ ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं द्वितीयचतुर्थौ आदेशौ[३] भवतः ॥ भास्करः भक्खरो । निश्चयः निच्छयो[४] । [५]दुष्टं दुट्ठं[६] । [५]स्तम्भः थंभो[७] । परुषं[८] फरुसं[९] । विलयते[१०] विज्झते[११] । [५]दंष्ट्रा दाढा[१२] । मथुरा मधुरा[१३] । नाथः नाधो[१४] ॥

॥ 11ª ॥ C D ॥ ११ª ॥

॥ 12 ॥ प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥ १२ ॥

[१५]प्रथमस्य स्थाने तृतीयो भवति ॥ एकं एगं । तीर्थंकरः[१६] तित्थगरो[१७] । पिशाचो पिसाजो । जटा जडा । कृतं कदं[१८] । प्रतिपिष्टं पडिपिट्ठं[१९] । C D । [२०]प्रच्छे वुच्छे ॥

॥ 13 ॥ हो [२१]खघधभानां ॥ १३ ॥

[२२]खकार घकार धकार भकाराणां[२३] स्थाने हकारो भवति[२४] ॥

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(१) C D om. this sútra and its commentary. (२) A* खम्भं, B खंभो ॥ (३) B C D om. (४) A निटुछ, B निच्छज, C निच्छयो, D निच्छय ॥ (५) A om. this example. (६) C D °ट्ठो ॥ (७) D adds खंभो (see iii, 10, 19). (८) A B C पुरुषं, D पुरुषः ॥ (९) A पुरुसं, B पुरुसं, C पुरिसं, D परिसो ; B C D add मधं मधं (see iii, 18). (१०) A विहयते, B विजयते, C D विघते ॥ (११) A B विज्झए, C D विज्झए ; cf. H. C. II, 28 ; and as to ज्झ for ज्झ, see p. 20 footnote 28 ; p. 10, n. 7 ; p. 27, n. 13 ; p. 30, n. 7. (१२) B दंढा, C दाढ़ा, D दढा ॥ (१३) A B C D मजरा ॥ (१४) A नाथा, B नाधो ; *C D read चाद्रिनाथः चादनाधो ॥ (१५) A has only the following comment, एकं । [illegible] पिसाजी ; om. all the rest. (१६) B तीर्थंकरः ॥ (१७) B तित्थंकरो, D [illegible] (१८) B कदं ॥ (१९) B प्रतिपिष्टं ॥ (२०) Conjectural ; B पच्छे, C D om. this example. (२१) C D om. ख (see note ९ in iii, 11.). (२२) C D om. खकार ॥ (२३) B [illegible] [illegible] ॥ (२४) A om. comm., up to भवति ॥

(१)मुखं मुहं। (२)मेघः मेहो। (२)मघवः महवो। वृषभः(२) वसहो॥

॥ 14 ॥ षस्य(४) खछहाः(५) ॥ १४ ॥

(६)षकारस्य स्थाने खछहा(७) भवंति ॥ भिक्षा भिक्खा। षण्मुखः छम्मुहो(८)। पाषाणः पाहाणो। दश दह ॥

॥ 15 ॥ यस्य जः ॥ १५ ॥

(९)यकारस्य स्थाने जकारो भवति ॥ यौवनं जुव्वणं। सूर्य्यः सुज्जो। यात्रा जत्ता ॥

॥ 15ᵃ ॥ C D ॥ १५ᵃ ॥

॥ 16 ॥ तवर्ग्गस्य चटवर्ग्गौ ॥ १६ ॥

तवर्ग्गस्य स्थाने चटवर्ग्गौ भवतः(१०)। यथासंख्यं ॥ नित्यं निच्चं(११)। (१)पथ्यं पच्छं(१२)। विद्या विज्जा। (१)वंध्या वंझा(१३)। नृत्यं नट्टं(१४)। स्थितः ठितो(१५)। (१६)दंडः डंडो(१७)। दग्धः(१८) दड्ढो(१९)। C D। धार्य्यं धय्यं(२०)। C D ॥

॥ 17 ॥ युष्मदो यस्य (२१)तः ॥ १७ ॥

युष्मत्संबंधिनो यकारस्य (२१)तकारो भवति(२२) ॥ तुम्हेहिं(२३) ॥

॥ 17ᵃ ॥ C D ॥ १७ᵃ ॥

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(१) C D om. this example (see p. 26, note ९ in iii, 11). (२) A om. this example. (३) A B वसभो ॥ (४) B ष स्थाने ॥ (५) A ०च्छ० ॥ (६) A has only स्थाने। पाषाणो पाहाणो। दश दह, om. the rest. (७) B षखहा ॥ (८) B D छमुहो ॥ (९) A only स्थाने, om. the whole commentary. (१०) A only स्थाने, om. up to भवतः ॥ (११) C D णिच्चं ॥ (१२) B पंछा with Skr. पंथा ॥ (१३) B D वंझा, C originally वंज्झा, with marginal correction ०ज्झा ॥ (१४) C D णट्टं ॥ (१५) A ठितो, B C D ठिदो ॥ (१६) A om. the remainder. (१७) B दंडो, D डंडो। (१८) B दग्धो ॥ (१९) B ०ड्ढो, C ०ड्ढा, D ०ड्ढो ॥ (२०) B धंम्मं, D धायं ॥ (२१) B य ॥, C A om. up to भवति ॥ (२२) A तुम्हेहि, B तुम्हेहि; C D add यथा। युष्मानिति [illegible]

॥ 18 ॥ रशषाणां[१] सः ॥ १८ ॥

[२]रेफशकारषकाराणां[३] स्थाने [४]सकारो भवति ॥ शिरं[५] सीसं-। [६]शशी ससी[७]। आमिषं आमिसं[७] ॥

॥ 19 ॥ हजयानां रनखाः[८] ॥ १९ ॥

[२]हजयानां स्थाने रनखा[८] भवंति। यथासंख्यं[९] ॥ ग्रहं घरं। [७]ध्यानं नानं[१०]। C D। [७]स्तंभः[११] खंभो ॥

॥ 20 ॥ गरहाणां घणझाः[१२] ॥ २० ॥

[१३]गरहाणां स्थाने घणझा[१४] भवंति। यथासंख्यं ॥ [७]ग्रहं घरं। करवीरः[१५] कणवीरो[१६]। C D। [७]वाह्यः वज्झो[१६]। C D ॥

॥ 21 ॥ मडहानां[१७] वलभाः[१८] ॥ २१ ॥

[१९]मडहानां स्थाने[२०] यथाक्रमं वलभा भवंति[२१] ॥ मन्मथः[२२] वम्मथो[२३]। षोडश[२४] सोलस[२५]। [७]जिह्वा जिब्भा। C D ॥

॥ 22 ॥ [२६]यवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ ॥

[२७]यकारवकारयोर् व्यत्यासो[२८] भवति[२९] ॥ पर्यंकः पवंको[३०]।

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(१) B ॰मां ॥ (२) A only रषां ॥ (३) B ॰सकारष॰ ॥ (४) A सस् स्यात् ॥ (५) B शिरः ॥ (६) B शसी ॥ (७) A om. this example. (८) C D रख॰ ॥ (९) B C D om. this clause. (१०) B ज्ञानं, C D ध्यानं ॥ (११) D स्थंभः (Prákrit थंभो, see iii, 11). (१२) A घणसाः, B ॰सा, D घण॰ ॥ (१३) A only यथासंख्यं भवंति ग्रहं ॥ (१४) B घणसा, D घणभा ॥ (१५) A ॰वीरं ॥ (१६) B वज्झो ॥ (१७) A B C D ॰णां; but C with marginal correction ॰नां ॥ (१८) B ब॰ ॥ (१९) D ॰हाणां; but B C ॰हानां ॥ (२०) B D om. (२१) A only ग्रहं, om. up to भवति ॥ (२२) A B ॰थो ॥ (२३) A C वम्महो, B मम्महो, D वंमहो ॥ (२४) B D ॰शः, A B ड for ड ॥ (२५) B सोलह ॥ (२६) So A; B om. sútra; C D read पवयोर् ॥ (२७) So A; B यवयोर्; but C D पवयोर्, see below note २९. (२८) A व्यत्ययं ॥ (२९) A स्यात्; in C D, here follows the example पापं पावं (see iii, 12 in App. C D), after which comes a new sútra रयवयोर् व्यत्यासः, to which are assigned पर्यंकः etc. as examples (see App. C D). (३०) A B ॰को; C D add पर्याणं पवाणं ॥

(१)वैदूर्यः(२) वेडुलियो(३)। चयोदश तेरह। (१)वृक्ष: रुक्खो(४)। C D ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ग्रह्योर्(५) लोपे णणमानाम् अधो (६)ह्रोऽपदादौ(७) स्थितानां ॥ २३ ॥

णणमानां संबंधिनौ यौ ग्रहौ(८) तयोर् लोपे हकारागमो भवति। (९)अधो ह्रो ऽपदादावस्थितानां ॥ प्रश्नः पन्हो(११)। तृष्णा तण्हा(१२)। ब्रह्मा बम्हा(१३)। B C D। C D। (१४)गृह्णाति गिण्हति(१५)। वह्निः वन्हो(१६)। जिह्वाः जिन्हो(१७)। B। (१८)अपदादाव् इति किं। ममाग्रं(१९) मग्गं ॥

॥ 24 ॥ लोपे द्वित्वं ॥ २४ ॥

संयोगाचरस्य लोपेऽवशेषस्य(२०) द्वित्वं भवति(२१)। (२२)दुर्गा दुग्गा। B C D। व्याघ्रः वग्घो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ (२३)क्वचिद् अलोपे ऽपि ॥ २५ ॥

(२४)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि द्वित्वं भवति॥ न ज्ञायते न(२५) णज्जते(२६)। (१)बाध्यते वाहिज्जते(२७) ॥

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(१) A om. this example. (२) C D वैडूर्यः ॥ (३) B वेडुलिओ, C वेबलिओ, D वेबलिउ ॥ (४) D वक्खो ॥ (५) So B; A C D ग्र० ॥ (६) A om. रो ॥ (७) Conjectural; the MSS reading is corrupt; B throws sútra and commentary into one and reads ग्र० लो० नण० अधो पदावस्थानां रो भवति; A has ऽपादावस्थानानां; C originally पदावस्थानानां, corrected in margin to ऽपदादावस्थानानां; D पदादावस्थानानां ॥ (८) A C D हकारहकारो ॥ (९) B om. this clause. (१०) Conjectural; A D read ऽपदादावस्थानानां, C अपदावस्थानानां ॥ (११) C D पण्हो ॥ (१२) B तिण्हा; A adds कृष्णः कण्हो (see App. B C D). (१३) A D बम्हा ॥ (१४) A om. the remainder up to अपदादाव् ॥ (१५) B गृह्णाति, C D गिण्हइ ॥ (१६) C D वण्ही; B places this example after जिन्हविया (see App. B). (१७) C D place the examples thus: ११, १६, १५, ११, १२, १०. (१८) So C; A अपादाद्विति, B अपदादिति०, D अपदादविति ॥ (१९) B C D मग्गं ॥ (२०) D विशेषस्य; B adds च after it. (२१) A आग्र ॥ (२२) C D दुर्गः दुग्गो ॥ (२३) A om. the sútra. (२४) B क्वचिद् द्वलोपे? ॥ (२५) C D ण ॥ (२६) A B णज्जइ, C D णज्जए; C D add तेन तेनं ॥ (२७) [illegible] C D ०ज्जए ॥

॥ 26 ॥ तस्मिन् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः(१) प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्मिन् द्वित्वे वर्त्तमानयोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने(२) प्रथमतृतीयौ भवतः॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं(३)। (४)अर्घः अग्घो। पथ्यं पच्छं(५)। साध्यः(६) सज्झो(७)। षष्ठः छट्ठो(८)। वृद्धः वुड्ढो(९)। पार्श्वः पत्थो(१०)। वर्धमानः वड्ढमाणो(११)। पुष्पं पुप्फं। जिह्वा जिब्भा(१२)॥

॥ 27 ॥ स एवान्येषां ॥ २७ ॥

अन्येषां (१३)युक्तायुक्तविशेषाणां द्वित्वे स एव भवति॥ (१४)अर्कः अक्को। सत्यं सच्चं(१५)। B C D ॥

॥ 28 ॥ न पदादौ(१६) ॥ २८ ॥

पदादौ(१६) द्वित्वं न भवति॥ क्रोधः कोहो(१७)। (१८)क्षुद्रः खुड्डो(१९)। (२०)पदादाव् इति किं। (२१)भद्रः भद्दो(२२) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ क्वचिद् अन्यथापि ॥ २९ ॥

क्वचित् पदमध्येऽवसाने(२३) च लोपे कृते द्वित्वं न भवति॥ काश्यपः(२४). कासवो। (१८)वैश्रवणः वेसवणो(२५)। स्पष्टं(२६) फुटं(२७)। (२८)कर्त्तव्यं

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(१) A ०चतुर्थयोः, B ०चतुर्थौ ॥ (२) So B; B संयोगात्; C D संयोगात्तो ॥ (३) A सौक्खं (for सोक्खं? but see iii, 5). (४) A om. the remainder. (५) B पत्थं; so also C now; but originally C seems to have had पच्छं ॥ (६) D साध्या ॥ (७) D सज्झा, B सज्झो ॥ (८) B छट्ठो, D षट्ठो ॥ (९) B ०ड्ढो, C ०ड्ढो, D ०ड्ढो ॥ (१०) D पत्थो ॥ (११) B वड्ढमाणो, C वड्ढमाणो, D वड्ढमाणो (for वड्ढ०); but comp. App. A, ii, 25 (as to ०णो for ०णो), and App. C D, iii, 16. (१२) B जिब्भा ॥ (१३) So A; B originally युक्तायुक्तविशेषाणां, but corrected by later hand into युक्तविशेषाणां; the latter is also the reading of C D (see App. B C D). (१४) B [illegible] ॥ (१५) B सच्चं ॥ (१६) C पादादौ ॥ (१७) B adds कुब्जः कुज्जो ॥ (१८) A om. this example. (१९) B खुड्डो, D खुड्डो ॥ (२०) B C पादादाव् ॥ (२१) A भद्रा, D भद्रं ॥ (२२) A भद्दा, B [illegible] (२३) So C; A अवसाने, B D चावसाने ॥ (२४) A काश्यपः ॥ (२५) B वेस्सवणो ॥ (२६) D स्पष्टं ॥ (२७) A फुडं, D फुट्टं ॥

कालस्सं[1] । शौर्यं[2] सौरो[3] । दीर्घः दीहो । [4]उत्साहः उच्छाहो[5] ॥

॥ 30 ॥ संयोगस्थेष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥ ३० ॥

द्वयोर् [6]व्यंजनयोर् मध्ये इष्टस्वरागमो भवति ॥ अग्निः अगणी[7] । विश्लेषः विसलेसो[8] । [9]प्लक्षः पलक्खो । [9]रत्नं रतणं[10] । वर्षं वरिसं[11] । C D । सूर्यः सूरियो[12] । [13]सर्षपः सरिसपो[14] । [13]वैडूर्यः[15] वेडुलियो[16] । [13]क्ष्मा खिमा[17] । [4]सूक्ष्मं सुहमं[18] । [4]पद्मं पदुमं[19] । C D ॥

॥ 31 ॥ यवयोर्[20] इदुतौ ॥ ३१ ॥

यवयोः[21] स्थाने [22]इकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ त्रयोदश तेरह[23] । C D । भवति होति[24] ॥

॥ 32 ॥ [25]संख्यायाम् [26]तिशयोर् लोपः ॥ ३२ ॥

[27]संख्यायाः [28]संबंधितिशयोर् लोपो भवति[29] ॥ [30]विंशतिः वीसा । पंचाशत् पन्ना[31] ॥

॥ 33 ॥ तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥

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(१) B C D कालस्सं; C adds कालस्सं ॥ (२) A शौर्यो, B शौर्यं, C D शौर्यः ॥ (३) A सौरो, B सौरं ॥ (४) A om. this example. (५) B उच्छाहं, C D उच्छाहं (see iii. 8). (६) B repeats द्वयोर् after व्यं० ॥ (७) B अग्नि ॥ (८) A विसलेस ॥ (९) A om. this example; B C D place it after सूरियो ॥ (१०) B C D रयणं ॥ (११) A वरिसं ॥ (१२) A D सूरिअ, B C सूरियो ॥ (१३) B om. this example; probably by oversight; as it is the only instance of B omitting what occurs in A C D together. (१४) A B C D सरिसवो; C D add वक्रं वङ्कं ॥ (१५) C D वैडूर्यः ॥ (१६) A वेडुलिअ, B वेडुलियो, C वेरुलियो, D वेरुलिअ; C D add [illegible] [illegible] ॥ (१७) So A; C D खमा ॥ (१८) So C D; B सुहमं ॥ (१९) B पदुमं, C D पदुमं ॥ (२०) A यवयोर् ॥ (२१) B C D यकारवकारयोः ॥ (२२) B C D इदुतौ ॥ (२३) A तेरह; B om. by mistake, as it gives only त्रयो, omitting दश and तेरह ॥ (२४) A B C होइ; D [illegible] (sic); A B place the examples २४, २३, but C D २३, २४ ॥ (२५) D repeats संख्या ॥ (२६) B त्रि० ॥ (२७) D om. (२८) C [illegible] ॥ (२९) A भवत् ॥ (३०) A om. all examples, probably by mistake. (३१) C D [illegible] ॥

[१]संख्यासंबंधिनस् तकारस्य[२] च[३] लोपो[४] भवति ॥ पंचपंचाशत्[५] [६]पणपण्ण ॥

॥ 34 ॥ [७]कतृतीययोः स्वरे ॥ ३४ ॥

ककारस्य वर्गतृतीयस्य च स्वरे[८] परे लोपो भवति ॥ [९]कोकिलः[१०] कोइलो[११] । [१२]भौगिकः भोइओ । [१३]राजी राई । [९]प्रतिकूलः पइकूलो[१२] । नदी नई[१४] । B । C D ॥

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्णे[१५] ॥ ३५ ॥

[१६]ककारवर्गतृतीययोर् अवर्णे परे यत्वं भवति ॥ C D । काकाः काया । नागाः नाया[१७] । B C D ॥

॥ 36 ॥ शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥ ३६ ॥

व्यवस्था वर्णावस्थानं[१८] शिष्टप्रयोगात् ज्ञातव्या[१९] ॥ अर्कः अक्को । [२०]सूर्यः सूरियो[२१] । भिक्षा भिक्खा । लक्ष्मी लच्छी[२२] । C D ॥

॥ 37 ॥ न लोपो ऽपभ्रंशे[२३] ऽधो[२४] रेफस्य ॥ ३७ ॥

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(१) A om. (२) B C D तस्य ॥ (३) B C D om. (४) A लोपः, om. भवति ॥ (५) B पंचाशत्, and prefixes विंशति वीसा, repeating the latter by mistake from the previous sútra. (६) A पणपणस, B D पणपणा, C पणवणा ॥ (७) C D have an altogether different sútra and commentary, see App. C D. (८) Inserted; A B om. (९) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). (१०) A कोकिला ॥ (११) A कोइला ॥ (१२) A om. this example. (१३) B वनराजी वणराई ॥ (१४) A adds नूपुरं णेउरं । कूपः कूवो (MS. कूप कूव); B adds many more examples, see App. B. (१५) C अवर्णे; D वर्णः; A adds ककारतृतीययोः ॥ (१६) So B; A corrupt ककारवर्गयोरेफयोरवर्णपरयोर्यत्वं स्यात् (अवर्णे परे रतयोर् यत्वं स्यात्?); but C D read differently, see App. C D. (१७) C D णाया ॥ (१८) A B ०स्थानं ॥ (१९) So A; B C D ०व्यं ॥ (२०) A om. the remainder. (२१) B C D सूरिओ. (२२) Here C D terminate this chapter, see App. C D. (२३) D ०भ्रंशे ॥ (२४) B om. ऽधो रेफस्य ॥

[१]अपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य लोपो न भवति ॥ *वरचु[२] । ग्रामो[३] । [४]वाघ्रो व्रुसि[५] आदि ॥

॥ 38 ॥ पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर्[६] लनौ[७] ॥ ३८ ॥

पैशाचिक्यां रेफस्य लकारो भवति । णकारस्य नकारः ॥ †अले[८] अले [illegible]दुट्ठलक्खसा पनमत[१०] [११]पनयिट्ठिताखा ॥

॥ 39 ॥ मागधिकायां रसयोर् लशौ[१२] ॥ ३९ ॥

मागधिकायां रेफसकारयोर् लशौ[१३] भवतः ॥ [१४]चंद्कलनिकलं हवति । शेशे[१५] । हंशे[१६] । पशुले[१७] ॥ C D ॥

॥ 39* ॥ C D ३९* ॥

॥ [१८]३१ ॥ २९ ॥ ३९ ॥ सूत्राणि अत्र ९९ ॥

॥ III ॥ इति [१९]श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे [२०]व्यंजनविधानं [२१]तृतीयं [२२]समाप्तं ॥ ३ ॥

॥ [२३]इति प्राकृतलक्षणं संपूर्णं[२४] ॥

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* Ed. वचः । ग्रामः । व्याघ्रः प्रसित्वा याति ॥ A and C om. the interpunctuation between व॰ and ग्रा॰, B has it; A B C have the interpunctuation between वा॰ and प्रसि॰; D om. it throughout. † Ed. अरे अरे दुष्टराक्षसाः प्रणमत प्रणयिस्थिताखाः ॥

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(१) B om. (२) B वरउ, D वरमु ॥ (३) A गाउ, B गाउ, C D ग्रयो ॥ (४) A om. this example, B व्याघ्रः, D व्याघ्रो; C D prefix the Skr. व्याघ्रः ॥ (५) C D प्रसि ॥ (६) B om. (७) B लोनौ ॥ (८) D अरे ॥ (९) A दुट्ठलक्खसा, B दुट्ठक्खं । लक्खा, C दुठलक्खसा, D दुट्ठलक्खसा ॥ (१०) So C; A पनमत्, B पननमतः, D पनमने ॥ (११) A रट्ठिखासा om. पन, B पुनरट्ठिखासा, C पनरं । ठिखासा, D पनरं ट्ठिखासा; B explains it in the margin as Skr. पुर्णर्डिकायाः (*sic*), but the word is not distinctly legible. (१२) B लसौ ॥ (१३) B लशौ ॥ (१४) A चन्दकलति कलवति; B चन्द नौ कलति ॥ कलसवति; B in the margin explains कलति by the Skr. करोति; C D चं॰ भवदि ॥ (१५) A शेसे, B शोषे; C D prefix the Skr. शेषः ॥ (१६) A B चंसे, D om.; C D prefix the Skr. चंसः ॥ (१७) A पशुत्, B पसुते, C D om. (१८) B C D om. this remark. (१९) A कृते, B om. कृत ॥ (२०) C D read भाषांतरविधानं चतुर्थं, making this the termination of the fourth chapter; their third chapter terminates with sûtra 36; see App. C D. (२१) C चतुर्थं, D तुर्यं ॥ (२२) A om. (२३) A B D om. this remark. (२४) Here follow various dates in the MSS.; A माघ कृष्ण १, B माघ कृष्ण ८ षष्ठमी संवत् १९९१; D संवत् १९९१ का; C gives no date.

EXPLANATION.

The MSS. C and D contain a large number of Sútras and Explanatory Remarks, in addition to the text given in the preceding pages. To a very slight extent this is also the case with the MSS. A and B. Some of this additional matter is found only in one MS., some other in more than one. This is indicated by the heading letters of the Appendices; thus Appendix C D gives what is common to the MSS. C and D. The places in the text to which these additions belong, are indicated by the insertion of corresponding letters; thus, on p. 21, the letter A in the commentary to Sútra II, 25 refers to an additional remark in MS. A, given in Appendix A on p. 34; again, on p. 5, the letters C D in Sútra I, 6[a] refer to an additional Sútra in the MSS. C and D, given in Appendix C D, on p. 40. The words printed in red type in the Appendices refer to the words in the text, *after* which the additional remark is to be inserted.

APPENDIX A.

TO SUTRA II, 25. ON PAGE 21.

ग्राहि॰ ॥ ग्राहिष्यमाणं(१) ग्राहिष्यंतं(२) ॥

(१) MS. ग्राहियमाणं ॥ (२) MS. ग्राहियंतं(?); in A the two letters ष and य are often indistinguishable.

APPENDIX B.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 26.

जिम्हो ॥ जिह्वावितं जिम्हवियं[१] । जिह्वाविका जिम्हविया[२] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

कोइलो ॥ [३]काकी काई[४] । [५]शकुनः सउणो[४] । [४]प्रतिकूलः पइकूलो[६] । काकेन काएण[७] । काकः काओ । भौगिकः भोइओ । त्यागिनां[८] चाईणं[९] । प्रगुणः पउणो । [१०]अवगूढः अवऊढो । त्यागेन चाएण । त्यागः चाओ । सुचिरं सुइरं । शुचिः सुई । [११]प्रचुरेण पउरेण । पिशाचेन पिसाएण । पिशाचः पिसाओ । वनराजिफलं वणराइफलं[१२] । [१३]वनराजी वणराई । [१४]प्रजुष्टं पउट्ठं । [१५]गजेन गएण । गजः गओ[१६] । [१७]पतिना पइणा । गोमती गोमई । [१८]जतुना जउणा । [१९]वातूलः वाऊलो । वातेन वाएण । वातः वाओ[२०] । मदिरः मइरो । [२१]नदी नई । पादुका पाउआ । मदेन मएण । मदः मओ । कूपिका कूइआ । कपीनां कईणं । [२२]नूपुरं नेउरं । रिपूणां रिऊणं । कूपेन कूएण । कूपः कूओ[२२] कूवो[२२] । कविना कइणा । कापुरुषं काउरिसं[२३] काउरिसं[२४] । रवेण रएण । देवः देओ[२५] । मयि मइ[२६] । प्रयुक्तं पउत्तं । मयूरः मऊरो । विप्रयोगः विप्पओओ[२७] ॥

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(१) MS. जिह्वविधं ॥ (२) MS. जिम्हवयं ॥ (३) The MS. places this example after पउणो ॥ (४) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). (५) MS. शकुणः सउणो ॥ (६) MS. पइकूलो ॥ (७) MS. काकेण ॥ (८) MS. त्यागिनाः ॥ (९) MS. चाइणो ॥ (१०) MS. अवकढ़ः अवकढो ॥ (११) Conjectural; MS. सवरेण सउरेण ॥ (१२) MS. °राजि° ॥ (१३) This example also occurs in A, omitting however वन ॥ (१४) MS. प्रघुष्टं पउघं, and places it after गओ ॥ (१५) MS. गायनः गायणो ॥ (१६) MS. गउ ॥ (१७) MS. prefixes the example चितं चिअं, which is repugnant to the following sútra (iii, 35). (१८) MS. जंतुणा जंउणा ॥ (१९) MS. वातुला वाउला ॥ (२०) MS. वाउ ॥ (२१) This example also occurs in A. (२२) MS. कूवो कूउ ॥ (२३) MS. places २४, २३. (२५) MS. दउ ॥ (२६) MS. मई ॥ (२७) MS. विप्पओ ॥

APPENDIX C.

SUTRA I, 11ª. ON PAGE 6.

॥ 11ª ॥ क्लीवे जस्शसोर् इं[1] ॥ ११ª ॥

क्लीवे वर्त्तमानात् नाम्नः परयोः जस्शसोः इं इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥

*कमलइं[2] मल्लवि अलिउलइं करिगंडाइं महंति ।

†असुलहम् एत्थ ण जाहं ‡भलि ते णवि दूर[3] गणंति ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ C D ॥ भे भणामो वयं भणामः । भे भण मां भण । भे भण अस्मान् भण ॥

भणामः ॥ भे कथं मया कृतं । भे कथं अस्माभिः कृतं । भे णिक्किट्ठो मत् निःकृष्टः । भे तं णिक्किट्ठो अस्मत् त्वं[4] निःकृष्टः । भे देसो मम देशः । भे देसो अस्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं मयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं अस्मासु निहितं ॥

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* C कमलानि मुक्त्वा अलिकुलानि करिगंडानि कांक्षंति । असुलभम् अत्र न येषां भक्ते ते नापि दूरं गणयंति ॥ † C असुलहं । असुलभं दुर्लभं वा । कदा ग्रहो भवति ॥ ‡ C भक्ति । बलात्कारेण ॥

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(१) See H. C. IV, 353. T. V. III, 4. 25. (२) The MS. has the mark of interpunctuation (।) after each word of the first line; thus कमलइं । म० ॥ (३) The MS. has विदू रगणंति ॥ (४) MS. om.

APPENDIX D.

SUTRA II, 1a. ON PAGE 13.

॥ 1a ॥ संस्कृतवत संधिकार्यं पदयेाः ॥ १a ॥

प्राकृते पदयेार् यत् संधिकार्यं तत् संस्कृतेाक्तवद् भवति ॥

SUTRAS II, 1b. 1c. ON PAGE 14.

॥ 1b ॥ स्वरस्योद्वृते(१) ॥ १b ॥

व्यंजनसंपृक्त. स्वरेा येा(२) व्यंजने लुप्ते ऽवशिष्यते स उद्वृत इत्येाच्यते । स्वरस्योद्वृते स्वरे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ गगनं गअणं । गंधकुटी गंधउडी ।

॥ 1c ॥ न युवर्णस्यास्वे ॥ १c ॥

इवर्णस्य उवर्णस्य चास्वे वर्णे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ न वैरिवर्गे(३) अपि अवकाशः । ण (४)वेरिवग्गे वि अवयासेा ॥

TO SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

क्वचित्(५) ॥ ऐदौतौ च केषांचिन् मते भवत एव ॥ कैतवं कैअवं । सौन्दर्यं सौअरिअं । कौरवाः कौरवा कौरवा ॥ ङ्ञौ(६) अपि स्ववर्ग्यसंयुक्तौ(६) भवत एव ॥ अहंकारः इङ्कारेा(७) । अंजितं(८) अञ्जिअं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

अर्थः ॥ एवं सर्वासु विभक्तिषु ॥

(१) D ॰तेः ॥ (२) D om. (३) D वेरवर्गे ॥ (४) D ॰वग्गे ॥ (५) See App. C D.
(६) D ञ्जो and ॰ञ्जो ॥ (७) D इङ्कारेा ॥ (८) D अंजिअं अजितं ॥

APPENDIX B C.

TO SUTRA III, 5. ON PAGE 24

सितं ॥ ऊड्ढं उड्ढं । प्राप्तं पत्तं ॥

APPENDIX C D.

TO SUTRA I, 1. ON PAGE 2.

देशी* प्राकृतम् अनेकधा भवति । तद् यथा* ।

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* C adds the following declension of जक्ख = यक्ष, मत्ता = मात्र and णिच्च = नित्य ;
जक्खो । जक्खा ॥ हे जक्खो । हे जक्खा ॥ जक्खं । जक्खा or जक्खे ॥ जक्खेण or जक्खेणं । जक्खेहि or जक्खेहिं or जक्खेहिँ ॥ जक्खस्स । जक्खाण or जक्खाणं ॥ जक्खाओ or जक्खाउ or जक्खाहि or जक्खाहिंतो or जक्खा । जक्खेहिंतो ॥ जक्खस्स । जक्खाण or जक्खाणं ॥ जक्खे or जक्खम्मि । जक्खेसु or जक्खेसुं ॥ एवं देवादयः ॥

मत्ता । मत्ताओ or मत्ताउ or मत्ता ॥ हे मत्ता । हे मत्ताओ or हे मत्ताउ or हे मत्ता ॥ मत्तं । मत्ताओ or मत्ताउ or मत्ता ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताहि or मत्ताहिं or मत्ताहिँ ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताण or मत्ताणं ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताहिंतो ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताण or मत्ताणं ॥ मत्ताए । मत्तासु or मत्तासुं ॥

णिच्चं । णिच्चाणि ॥ णिच्चं । णिच्चाणि ॥ शेषं जक्खवत् ॥

*भमरिपउरे[1] गामे इसपुलिंदाण सुव्वए सद्दो ।
तह सज्जिज्जइ चिची सुहेण जह बोलए †तुंगी ॥ १ ॥
‡सत्तवीसं[2] [3]ओयणयरपसरो§ जाव अज्जवि ण होइ ।
[4]पडिहत्थबिंबगहवइवयणे‖ ता वच्च भत्तारं ॥ २ ॥

महाराष्ट्रदेशे । भातु । भेटु ॥ अंध्रदेशे । वंटकमु । कूडु ॥ कर्णाटदेशे । कूलु ॥ द्राविडदेशे । चोरु ॥ इत्यादि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGES 3, 4.

कुलानि ॥ चत्वारि चत्तारि । चत्वारः चत्तारो । चतुरः चउरो[5] । तिष्ठंति[6] चिट्ठंति पश्य[7] पेच्छ वा[7] । यूयं तुम्हे[8] । वयं अम्हे[8] ॥

भ्यस् ॥ ग्रामेभ्यः[9] गामाहिंतो । गुरुभ्यः[9] गुरूहिंतो[10] । धेणूहिंतो । णईहिंतो । दोहिंतो वेहिंतो[11] । [12]तोहिंतो¶ ॥

अन्हेसु ॥ **दोसुं दोसु । ††वेसुं[13] वेसु । तीसुं तीसु‡‡ ॥

TO SUTRA I, 5. ON PAGE 4.

मरिताहं ॥ णईणं णईहं । *गुरूणं गुरूहं । बुद्धीणं [14]बुद्धीहं । मऊणं[15] मऊहं ।

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* C इसपुलिंदाण व्याघ्राणां सद्दो शब्दः भमरिपउरे भ्रमरप्रचुरे गामे ग्रामे सुव्वए श्रूयते । तह तथा चिची अग्निः सज्जिज्जइ सज्जाते जह यथा तुंगी रात्रिः सुहेण सुखेन बोलए यातिक्रामति ॥ † C तुंगी इति । श्यामा तुंगी तमा तमी इति नामनिधानकोशान्तरे ॥ ‡ C सत्तवीसं ओयणयरपसरो सप्तविंशतियोजनकरप्रसरः जाव यावत् अज्जवि अद्यापि ण न होइ भवति । पडिहत्थबिंबगहवइवयणे पे प्रतिहस्तबिंबपूर्णतिवदने ता तावत् वच्च व्रज भत्तारं भर्तारं ॥ § C सत्तवीसंजोयण शब्देन चन्द्रः । तस्य कराणां प्रसरः चंद्रकरप्रसरः ॥ ‖ C प्रतिहस्तं निःसृतं बिंबं मण्डलं यस्य स प्रतिहस्तबिंबः । प्रतिहस्तबिंबो गृहपतिम् चंद्रः इति बोधनं ॥ ¶ C ग्रामेभ्यः । गुरुभ्यः । धेनुभ्यः । नदीभ्यः । द्वाभ्यां । त्रिभ्यः ॥ ** C दोसुं । द्वि चये सुप् (see ii, 12) । वर्णादु चत्वर्यं (iii, 5 दि-सुप्) । सरोऽन्यो॰ (ii, 4 दोसुप्) । चदामको॰ (ii, 11 दोसु) । चनुस्वारो॰ (ii, 15 दोसुं) ॥ †† C वेसुं । द्वि-चये सुप् (see ii, 12) । वर्णे (iii, 8 विसुप्, sic !) । सरो॰ (ii, 4 वेसुप्) । चदाममो॰ (ii, 11 वेसु) । चनुस्वारो॰ (ii, 15 वेसुं) ॥ ‡‡ C त्रयोः ॥ त्रिषु ॥

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(१) D भमरिउपरे ॥ (२) D सत्तवीस c. m. (३) D ओयण॰ ॥ (४) D ॰हत्थ॰, D बिंब॰ ॥ (५) D चतुरो ॥ (६) D तिट्ठंति, C om. (७) C om. (८) D तुम्हे and अम्हे ॥ (९) C om. (१०) D गुरूहिंतो ॥ (११) D बे॰ ॥ (१२) D ताहिंतो ॥ (१३) D बे॰ ॥ (१४) D बु॰ ॥ (१५) D मघुणं ॥

तुम्हाणं ॥ अम्हाणं अम्हाहं*। (१)णमो अरहंताणं† । णमो सिद्धाणं‡ । (२)णमो आइरियाणं§ । (३)णमो उवज्झायाणं‖ । ¶णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 6. ON PAGE 5.

भवति ॥ दोण्हं वेण्हं(४) । तिण्हं । चउण्हं ॥

SUTRA I, 6a. ON PAGE 5.

॥ 6a ॥ टो णः ॥ ६a ॥

लिंगात् परस् टा इत्यस्य(५) ण आदेशो भवति ॥ देवेण । गुरुणा । महुणा । दहिणा । सिरेण । इत्यादि(६) ॥

TO SUTRA I, 7. ON PAGE 5.

गामेहिं ॥ **गुरूहिं(७) । णईहिं । तुम्हेहिं(८) । अम्हेहिं । ††दोहिं(९) वेहिं । तीहिं ॥

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* C नदीनां । गुरूणां । युवतीनां । मधूनां । अस्माकं ॥ † C णमो अरहंताणं नमोऽर्हद्भ्यः । नमोऽर्हत् (१०) चतुर्थी बहुवचनम् अर्थे भ्यस् । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 णमः अर्हत्) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 णमो अर्हत्) । स्वराणां० (ii, 1 णमो अर्हत्) । वर्णविश्लेषं कृत्वा हे इत्यु अस्य र्ह इति स्थितं । संयोगस्ये० (iii, 30 णमो अरहत्) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 णमो अरहंत्) । अदागमो० (ii, 11 णमो अरहंत) । षष्ठीवच० (ii, 13) । सागमस्या० (ii, 5 णमो अरहंतण) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 णमो अरहंताण) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 णमो अरहंताणं) ॥ ‡ C सिद्धाणं । सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ § C आइरियाणं आचार्येभ्यः । आचार्य । कगचज० (iii, 34 आआर्य) । स्वरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन आ स्थाने इ भवति (आइर्य) । वर्णविश्लेषं कृत्वा संयोगस्येह० (iii, 30 आइरिय) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 आइरिया) । आम् अस्य णः (i, 5 आइरियाण) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 आइरियाणं) ॥ ‖ C उवज्झायाणं उपाध्यायेभ्यः । उपाध्याय । प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12 उवाध्याय) । वर्गाद्दु (iii, 5 उवाधाय) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 उवाझाय) । लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 उवाज्झाय) । ह्रस्वत्वं० (ii, 3 उवज्झाय) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 उवज्झाया) । आमो णः (i, 5 उवज्झायाण) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 उवज्झायाणं) । उवज्झायाणं सिद्धं ॥ ¶ C नमो लोके सर्वसाधुभ्यः ॥ ** C गुरुभिः । नदीभिः । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः । द्वाभ्यां । त्रिभिः ॥ †† C दोहिं । द्वि अस्य भ्या । द्विवयणे बहुवयणं (sic) ज्ञेयं (ii, 12 द्वि-भिस्) । वर्गाद्दु० (iii, 5 द्दिभिस्) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 दोभिस्) । हिं भिसः (i, 7 दोहिं) ॥

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(१) C adds णमो अरिहंताणं । णमो अरुहंताणं ॥ (२) C adds णमो आइरियाणं ॥ (३) C adds णमो उवज्झायाणं ॥ (४) C बे० ॥ (५) D reads only णो for इत्य० ण आदे० ॥ (६) D om. (७) D गुरुहिं ॥ (८) D तुम्मेहिं and अम्मेहिं ॥ (९) C adds दोण्हि दोण्हिं । बेण्हि बेण्हिं । तीण्हि तीण्हिं ॥ (१०) C चतुर्थीबहुवचनम् ॥

SUTRA I, 10ᵃ. ON PAGE 6.

॥ 10ᵃ ॥ द्विविशब्दार्थयोर् जसशसोर् विः ॥ १०ᵃ ॥

दुवि विवि दुवे* द्वो वे । तिवि[1] । [2]एवं शसोऽपि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 13. ON PAGE 7.

सोच्छा ॥ [3]चकारग्रहणात् किं । अकारात् परस्य ङसः द्वित्वसकार एव भवति न तु णो ॥

TO SUTRA I, 19. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sútra: तं तुं[4] वंतु तुहं तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥

TO SUTRA I, 20. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sútra: अमि तुए तुमं तं च ॥

TO SUTRA I, 24. ON PAGE 10.

निक्खंतो ॥ [5]तुम्हेहिंतो अम्हे[6] धिट्ठा[7] । युष्मद् वयं दृष्टाः ॥

SUTRAS I, 25ᵃ, 25ᵇ. ON PAGE 11.

॥ 25ᵃ ॥ तुम्हम् आमि ॥ २५ᵃ ॥

युष्मदः आमि परे तुम्हम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्हं पिया† ते गुणा । युष्माकम् एव ते गुणाः ॥

॥ 25ᵇ ॥ तद्द ङौ ॥ २५ᵇ ॥

सविभक्तेः ॥ ‡तद्द[8] । §तुम्हम्मि ॥ तुम्हेसु[9] ॥

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* C दुवे । द्वौ । वर्णविशेषं कृत्वा द्वुवौ इति स्थितौ । संयोगस्येट० (iii, 30) इत्यनेन च प्रत्यय आगतः (दुवौ) । स्वरे० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन वौ इत्यस्य वे भवति (दुवे) ॥ † C पिय । एवार्थे वेद्-पिय-चेयाः (ii, 17) ॥ ‡ C तद्द अपि सिद्धरूपं । यष्मद् (iii, 5 तयि) । क्वचयज० (iii, 34 तद्द) । तद्द सिद्धं ॥ § C युष्मद् । युष्मदो० (iii, 17 तुम्हद्) । दशरथार्थः (iii, 18 तुम्हद्) । वर्गं (iii, 3 तुमद्) । शषयोर्० (iii, 23 तुम्हद्) । अदामसो० (ii, 11) इत्यनेन दकारस्य लोपः (तुम्ह) । एम्मि ङेः (i, 14 तुम्हम्मि) ॥

(1) D places तिवि after एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (2) C repeats दुवि, etc., instead of the remark एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (3) D reads चकारात्, om. किं; C om. the whole of this remark in the text, but adds it in the marginal gloss; D gives it as part of the text. (4) C तु ॥ (5) D तुम्हे० ॥ (6) D अम्हे ॥ (7) C धिट्ठा ॥ (8) C om. (9) Here follows sútra ii, 20 (see p. 21) in C D.

SUTRAS I, 26ᵃ—26ᵈ. ON PAGE 11.

॥ 26ᵃ ॥ हउं हं अहं [१]सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ २६ᵃ ॥

अस्मदः सौ परे हउं[२] हं अहं एते[३] आदेशा भवंति । सविभक्तेः[४] ॥ [५]हउं सो णरो[६] । तेण हं विद्धो । अहं कयपणामो* ॥

॥ 26ᵇ ॥ अम्हे जसि ॥ २६ᵇ ॥

अस्मदो जसि परे अम्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अम्हे मणुस्सा[७] सूरा । वयं मनुष्याः शूराः[८] ॥

॥ 26ᶜ ॥ मम् अमि ॥ २६ᶜ ॥

अस्मदः अमि परे मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः[९] ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां पश्य ॥

॥ 26ᵈ ॥ अम्हे शसि[१०] ॥ २६ᵈ ॥

अस्मदः शसि[१०] परे अम्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः[११] ॥ अम्हे पेच्छ । अस्मान् पश्य ॥

SUTRA I, 31ᵃ. ON PAGE 12.

॥ 31ᵃ ॥ [१२]मइ ङौ ॥ ३१ᵃ ॥

[१]सविभक्तेः ॥ †मइ[१३] । अम्हम्मि[१४] ॥ [१४]अम्हेसु[१५] ॥

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* C कयपणामो कृतप्रणामः ॥ † C मइ । मयि । कमचज° (iii, 34) इति मइ सिद्धं ॥

(१) C places सौ after सवि° ॥ (२) D हंउ ॥ (३) C om. (४) C D place सवि° before सौ ॥ (५) D हउं ॥ (६) D नरो ॥ (७) C माणुस्सा ॥ (८) C सूराः ॥ (९) C D place सवि° before अमि ॥ (१०) D शमि ॥ (११) C D place सवि° before शसि ॥ (१२) C om. sútra. (१३) D मइं ॥ (१४) D om. (१५) Here follows sútra I, 27 (see p. 22) in C D.

TO SUTRA II, 5. ON PAGE 15.

रिषं ॥ ऋद्धिः(१) रद्धी(२) । वृषभः वसहो *उसहो(३) रिसहो ॥ बृहस्पति-शब्दस्याष्टादश रूपाणि भवंति ॥ †भिअस्सई भुअस्सई भयस्सई(४) । विहस्सई बुहस्सई वहस्सई । भिअप्फई भुअप्फई भयप्फई(५) । विहप्फई(६) बुहप्फई वहप्फई । भिअप्पई(७) भुअप्पई भयप्पई(८) । विहप्पई बुहप्पई वहप्पई(९) ॥ सदृक् वर्णः ‡सरिवण्णो । सदृक् रूपः सरिरूवो । सदृशः सरिसो । सदृक्षः सरिच्छो । एतादृशः एआरिसो । भवादृशः भवारिसो । यादृशः जारिसो । तादृशः तारिसो । कीदृशः केरिसो । ईदृशः(१०) एलिसो(११) । अन्यादृशः अण्णारिसो । अस्मादृशः अम्हारिसो । युष्मादृशः तुम्हारिसो । इत्यादि ।

TO SUTRA II, 9. ON PAGE 16.

ऋतुला ॥ सौधं सउहं । मौनं मउणं । पौरुषं पउरिसं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 11. ON PAGE 17.

सरि० ॥ पडिवयाणं§ । यत् जं । तत् तं ॥

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* C वृषभः । स्वरा० (ii, 5) इत्यनेन ऋ इत्यस्य वु (वुषभः) । कगचज० (iii, 34) इत्यनेन वकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थितं (उषभः) । रसषा० (iii, 18 उसभः) । ष्टो० (iii, 13 उसहः) । एदोइ० (ii, 10 उसहो) । सरासां० (ii, 1 उसहो) ॥ † C बृहस्पतिः । स्वरा० (ii, 5 बिह०) । पवयोर्० (iii, 22 पिह०) । प्रथम० (iii, 11 पिह०) । पुनः प्रथम० (iii, 11 भिह०) । हकारस्य स्वरस्य विश्लेषे कृते ह इति स्थितं (भिहष०) । यदामसो० (ii, 11) इत्यनेन हलोपः (भिअ०) । मवलेभ्यो० (iii, 2 भिअसतिः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 भिअस्सतिः) । कगचज० (iii, 34 भिअस्सइः) । सरो० (ii, 4 भिअस्सईः) । एदोइ० (ii, 10 भिअस्सई) । भिअस्सई इति सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C सदृक्वर्णः । स्वरा० (ii, 5 सदिक्०) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 सडिक्०) । मडदा० (iii, 21 सलिक्०) । रलयोर्० (iii, 22ᵃ सरिक्०) । यदामसो० (ii, 11 सरि-वर्णः) । रेफ० (iii, 9 सरिवणः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 सरिवणः) । एदोइ० (ii, 10 सरिवण्णो) । सरासां० (ii, 1 सरिवण्णो) ॥ § C प्रतिपत् । यदामसः ॥

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(१) C रद्धि, D रद्धी ॥ (२) C रद्धी, D रद्धी ॥ (३) D om. (४) C places this after बुहस्सई ॥ (५) C places this after बुहप्फई ॥ (६) D places this after बुहप्फई ॥ (७) D has again प्फ in the following forms, instead of प्प ॥ (८) C places this after बुहप्पई ॥ (९) D repeats वहप्पई ॥ (१०) D एदृशः ॥ (११) So both C D.

कथं ॥ सम्यक्(१) सम्मं(२)। ईषत्(३) ईसं ॥

चिरे० ॥ चिराणं* ॥

TO SUTRA II, 12. ON PAGE 17.

Commentary: सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च द्विवचनं बहु० ॥

वंभ० ॥ †णयणा। वेाहंते ॥

SUTRAS II, 13[a], 13[b]. ON PAGE 17.

॥ 13[a] ॥ प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥ १३[a] ॥

चतुर्विंशतिर् अपि जिनवराः। चउवीसं वि जिणवरा तित्थयरा(४) मे पसीअंतु ॥

॥ 13[b] ॥सप्तम्यास् तृतीया आर्षे ॥ १३[b] ॥

तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं। तस्मिन् काले तस्मिन् समये(५) ॥

SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

॥ 14 ॥ न ऌतङञनाः ॥ १४ ॥

ऌता वर्णाः ङकारनकारञकाराश् च प्राकृते न भवंति ॥ श्लोकः।

‡ऐ औ स्वरौ ततः पश्चात् ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ चतुःस्वराः।

§अः ङञनशषाः(६) संति प्राकृते नैव कर्हिचित् ॥ १ ॥ (D) ॥

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* C चिरस्। (चिरस्सं) ॥ † C नयने। शोभेते ॥ ‡ C ऐऔ स्वरौ०। गाथा(१)।

सेत्तीस विंजणाइं सत्तावीसा सरा तहा भणिया।

चत्तारि य जोगवहा चउसट्ठी(७) मूलवण्णा उ ॥ १ ॥

चयवरह। अवनङम। भढधघभ। जडदगव। छठथखफ(८)। चटतकप। शषस ॥ ३३ ॥ अआआः। इईईः। उऊऊः। ऋॠॠः। ऌॡॡः। एएएः ऐऐऐः। ओओओः। औऔऔः ॥ २७ ॥ ंःॅकःॅपः(९) ॥ ४ ॥ ६४(१०) मूलवर्णा भवंति संस्कृते(११)। प्राकृते ५२ भवंति ॥ औ इति संबोधने(१२) ॥ § C अः इति विसर्जनीयः। (१३)अकार उच्चारणार्थः। कुमारीस्तनयुगलाकृतिर् वर्णो विसर्जनीयसंज्ञो भवति। वृंमवद् बालवत्सस्य चक्षिकाकुचयुग्मवच्चेववत् अध्यंतपंक्त(१४) विसर्गोऽयम् इति स्मृतः ॥

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(१) C om. (२) B रखं ॥ (३) C om., D इषत् ॥ (४) D तित्थयरा ॥ (५) See [Bha]gavati (ed. Weber) p. 260; Kalpasútra (ed. Jacobi) p. 88. (६) C अःङञ० ॥ (७) C ०सट्ठी ॥ (८) चपफठख ॥ (९) MS. indistinct, ॅपः for ॅपः ॥ (१०) C ॥ ६६ ॥ (११) C reverses प्राकृते संस्कृते ॥ (१२) See H. C. ii, 203, 199. (१३) C अकार, om. इ ॥ (१४) C विसर्ग। बतिनि० ॥

TO SUTRA II, 15. ON PAGE 18.

प्रकृतिः ॥ क्वचिद् अर्द्धानुस्वारोऽपि भवति ॥

सकृतं ॥ सक्कारो* । वीणा । तीणा । लोप ॥

भंगो ॥ देवेहिं । प्रकृति ॥ देवेहि । लोप ॥ देवेहिँ । (अर्द्धानुस्वार[१])॥

SUTRA II, 19. ON PAGE 19.

॥ 19 ॥ त्तु त्ता वा डु त्तुं तूण तुआण ओ वि प्पिणु वेप्पिणु पूर्वं० ॥ १९ ॥

भोत्तूण ॥ काउआण । वंदेवि ॥ कप्पि ॥ वंदेप्पिणु[२] । पणवेप्पिणु ॥

TO SUTRA II, 20. ON PAGE 20.

फडिल्लो ॥ स्रोक[३] ।

[४]वतोर् मतोर् [५]इल्ल उल्ल आल आलू इरा मणः ।

वन्तो मा मन्त इत्ताश्च[६] च यथा लक्ष्यं इत्र[७] स्मृताः ॥ १ ॥

शोभवान् सोहिल्लो । विकारवान् विआरल्लो । श्रद्धावान् सद्धालो । स्नेहवान् णेहालू । गर्ववान् गव्विरो । धनवान् धणमणो धणवन्तो । हनुमान् हणुमा हणुमन्तो । पुण्यवान् पुसमन्तो । मानवान् माणइत्तो[८] । काव्यवान् कव्वइत्तो[८] ॥ तत्र भवेऽपि इल्ल उल्लौ ॥ ग्रामे भवः गामिल्लो । पुरे भवः पुरिल्लो ॥ अधो भवः । अधो हेट्ठः[९] । अधः स्थाने हेट्ठादेशो[९] भवति । हेट्ठिल्लो[९] ॥ उपरि भवः उवरिल्लो । आत्मनि भवः अप्पुल्लो ॥

SUTRA II, 21. ON PAGE 20.

॥ 21 ॥ ता ताव जा जावाम् तावद्यावतोः ॥ २१ ॥

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* C संक्कारः ॥

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(१) C D om. (२) D वं० ॥ (३) C om. (४) C reads वतोः स्थाने इल०, and makes it to be a new sûtra. (५) D reads आल for आलु ॥ (६) C D इत्ताश्च ॥ (७) D inserts numbers after each suffix, thus इल१, उल२, etc; C superscribes them, thus इल उल, etc. (८) D ०इत्तो ॥ (९) C हेठः, हेठा०, हेठि० ॥

तावत् छब्दस्य यावत् छब्दस्य तु तावावौ आजावौ भवतः ॥ गाथा । etc.

TO SUTRA II, 24. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ गाथा ।

*गुरुलज्जअपयत्ताणं तग्गुणमुल्लं हवेइ सव्वेसिं ।

छुहिअतिसिआण भोज्जं जलपाणं तं अमुल्लं खु ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 26. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ भे सुणु । त्वं शृणु ॥

निश्चयत ॥ भे भणामि । त्वां भणामि ॥

कृतं ॥ भे कयं युष्माभिः कृतं । भे अहं णिक्किट्ठो[1] त्वं अहं निःकृष्टः । भे अहं सूरो युष्मद् अहं शूरः[2] । भे देसेा तव देशः । भे देसेा युष्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं त्वयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं युष्मासु निहितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ भे भणामि । अहं भणामि ॥

SUTRAS II, 27a—27f. ON PAGE 22.

॥ 27a ॥ इजेराः पादपूरणे[3] ॥ २७क ॥

॥ 27b ॥ जि अव्ययं एवार्थे ॥ २७ख ॥

॥ 27c ॥ णवरि आनंतर्यार्थे[4] ॥ २७ग ॥

॥ 27d ॥ णवर केवलार्थे[5] ॥ २७घ ॥

॥ 27e ॥ यदेः कुदु[6] ॥ २७ङ ॥

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* C [illegible]पदार्थानां तद्गुणमौल्यं भवति सर्वेषां । क्षुधितक्षुधितानां भोज्यं जलपानं (तद्) [illegible] ॥

(1) D णिक्किट्ठो ॥ (2) C D सूरः ॥ (3) See H. C. II, 217. (4) See H. C. II, 188. (5) See H. C. II, 187. (6) See H. C. IV, 422, 19.

॥ 27ᶠ ॥ थूथू छिछ कुत्सायां ॥ २७ᶠ ॥

॥ 27ᵍ ॥ हुडवड(१) शीघ्रार्थे ॥ २७ᵍ ॥

*हुडवड(१) होइ विहाणु ॥

॥ 27ʰ ॥ अतिरभसात् ऊर्द्धमुखस्येतस्ततो गमने उवडव ॥ २७ʰ ॥

उवडव चरियाए ॥

॥ 27ⁱ ॥ णं णउ णाइं णावइ(२) जणि जणु मणु इवार्थे(३) ॥ २७ⁱ ॥

(४)मिव पिव विव व्व व विश्र इवार्थे वा भवंति ॥

॥ 27ᵏ ॥ दाणिं एम्हिं(५) एत्तहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥ २७ᵏ ॥

॥ 27ˡ ॥ यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिमतिमौ ॥ २७ˡ ॥

दोहा(६) ।

†कालु लहेविणु जोइया (७)जिम जिम मोहु(८) गलेइ ।
(९)तिम तिम दंसणु(१०) लहइ जो(११) णियमें(१२) अप्पु(१३) मुणेइ ॥१॥

SUTRA II, 29ᵃ.

॥ 29ᵃ ॥ नो डः ॥ २९ᵃ ॥

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* C शीघ्रं (भवति) विभातं ॥ (दोहा) ।
ढोला मइँ(१४) तुहुँ(१४) वारिया मा कुरु दीहा माणु ।
णिद्दए(१५) गमिही रत्तडी हुडवड(१) होइ विहाणु ॥ १ ॥
मानं प्राप्तं नायकं प्रति काचित् नायिका प्राह(१६) । ढोला हे नायक मया त्वं वारितः दीर्घं मानं दर्पं मा कुरु । निद्रया रात्रिर् गमिष्यति । हुडवड(१) शीघ्रं विभातं प्रभातं होइ(१७) (भवति) ॥ † C कालं (लब्ध्वा जायायाः) यथा यथा मोहः गलति । तथा तथा दर्शनं लभते (यावत् नियमेन) आत्मानं (मन्यते) ॥

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(१) C हुडवड ॥ (२) D णावयइ ॥ (३) See H. C. IV, 444. (४) C om. the commentary. (५) D एवहं ॥ (६) C om., D गाथा ॥ (७) D जिमि जिमि ॥ (८) D मोह ॥ (९) D तिमि तिम ॥ (१०) D दंसण ॥ (११) C जौवो, D जीव ; both con. metr. (१२) D णियमे ॥ (१३) D अप्पुं c. m. (१४) C मइं तुडं c. m. (१५) C णिदए ; here ए is short, metri causa, = णिद्दाइ ; see Vr. 5, 22. (१६) C [illegible]

स्वरात् परस्य असंयुक्तस्य अनादेर् गस्य प्रायो डो भवति ॥ संहननं । संहडणं संघडणं संहणणं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 23.

रत्नं ॥ स्पष्टं फुडं । स्पष्टं(१) पुट्टं(२) । उत्कृष्टं उक्किट्ठं(३) । नष्टः णट्ठो(३) । दुष्टः दुट्ठो(४) । सुष्टः सुट्ठो(३) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

लच्छी ॥ तीक्ष्णं तिक्खं । आत्मा आदा आया अत्ता(५) अप्पा । सर्व्वज्ञः सव्वणू(६) ॥ वेत्ति किं । वच्मि वेम्मि ॥

TO SUTRA III, 9. ON PAGE 25.

पवरो ॥ भ्रमरः भवरो भमरो भमलो ॥

हस्सो ॥ प्रथमशब्दस्य चत्वारि रूपाणि । पुढुमो पढुमो पढमो पुढमो ॥ स्त्री थी ॥ *

SUTRA III, 11ª.

॥ 11ª ॥ तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥ ११ª ॥

वर्ग्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं प्रथमद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं णकरं । मार्गणः मक्कणो । गिरितटं किरितटं । मेघः मेखो । व्याघ्रः वक्खो । घर्म्मः खम्मो । राजा राचा । जर्ज्जरं चच्चरं । जीमूतः चीमूतो(७) । निर्झरः णिच्छरो । झर्झरः छच्छरो । तडागं तडाकं(८) । मंडलं मंटलं । डमरुकः टमरुको । गाढं काठं । षंढः संठो(९) । ढक्का(१०) ठक्का । मदनः मतनो(११) । कंदर्प्पः कंतप्पो । दामोदरः तमोतरो । मधुरं मथुरं । बंधवः पंथवो ॥

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(१) D स्पृष्टं ॥ (२) C °ठं, D °ट्टं ॥ (३) C °ठो, D °ट्टो ॥ (४) C °ठो, D °ट्टो° (५) D चात ॥ [illegible] D सव्वष ॥ (७) So C D, with द ॥ (८) So C D, with ड ; but in C correc[illegible] ड ॥ (९) D संढो(?) ॥ (१०) D ढक्का(?) ॥ (११) So C D but C has [illegible]nal correction in pencil मतवो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26.

..पृत्ति० ॥ जिनप्रतिमा जिणपडिमा । वितस्तिः[१] विहत्थी[२] । वसतिः वसही ।
भरतः भरहो । कातरः काहलो । मातुलिंगः[३] माउलिंगो ।
पापं पावं । पुत्रः विहो । पुत्री विही[४] ।

SUTRA III, 15ᵃ. ON PAGE 27.

॥ 15ᵃ ॥ पत्रयोर् मो वा ॥ १५ᵃ ॥

पकारवकारयोः स्थाने मकारो वा भवति ॥ शबरः[५] सवरो समरो ।
स्वप्नः[५] सिविणो सिमिणो । नीव्री[५] णीवी णीमी । पूर्व्वः[६] पुव्वो[७]
पुरिमो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 16. ON PAGE 27.

ढड्ढो ॥ वर्द्धमानः वड्ढमाणो । वृद्धः वुड्ढो ॥
धण्णं ॥ खिद्यते खिज्जए । रुदितं रुण्णं ॥

SUTRA III, 17ᵃ. ON PAGE 27.

॥ 17ᵃ ॥ जस्य रः ॥ १७ᵃ ॥

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारो भवति ॥ व्युत्सृजामि वोसरामि । व्युत्सृजति
वोसरइ ॥ यष्टिः लट्ठी[८] । यष्टिका लट्ठिआ[९] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 19. ON PAGE 28.

नाणं ॥ राजा राणा । आज्ञा आणा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 20. ON PAGE 28.

कण० ॥ [१०]करीरः कणीरो । करोति कुणइ ॥
वङ्गो ॥ भगिणी । वहिनी भइणी ॥

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(१) D वितस्ती ॥ (२) D विहच्छी ॥ (३) D ०लिंगो ॥ (४) D विड्डी ॥ (५) D om. (६) D पूर्व्वः ॥ (७) D पुव्वो ॥ (८) C लठी, D लट्ठी ॥ (९) C ०ठिआ, D ०ट्ठिआ ॥ (१०) C om. this example.

TO SUTRA III, 21. ON PAGE 28.

जिब्भा ॥ वडमुखं[१] वलमुहं। गरुडः[२] गरुलो। तडागः तलाओ[३]।
कीडति कीलइ[४]। स्फटिकः फलिहो।

SUTRAS III, 22, 22ª. ON PAGE 28.

॥ 22 ॥ पवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ ॥

पवयोर् व्यत्यासो भवति ॥ पापं पावं ॥

॥ 22ª ॥ रलयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ª ॥

पर्य्यंकः। etc.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जम्हा ॥ कस्मात् कम्हा। तस्मात् तम्हा[५]। तस्मिन् तम्हि[६] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 30. ON PAGE 31.

वरिसं ॥ श्री सिरी। ह्रीः[७] हिरी। अर्हत् अरहंतो। आचार्यः आय-
रिओ[८]। स्त्री इत्थी[९] ॥

पदुमं ॥ तन्वी तणुवी। लघ्वी लहुवी। गुर्वी गुरुवी। पृथ्वी पुहवी।
[१०]बह्वी [१०]बहुवी। मृद्वी मदुवी। स्यात् सिया[११]। स्याद्वादः
सिआवाओ[१२]। भव्यः भविओ[१३]। [१४]स्वः कृतं सुवे कयं। स्वे
जनाः सुवे जणा। ज्या जीआ ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31. ON PAGE 31.

तेरह ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत्[१५] तेतीसा। त्रयोविंशतिः[१५] तेवीसा ॥

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(१) D व० ॥ (२) D गु० ॥ (३) D तलाउ ॥ (४) D कीलइं ॥ (५) D तम्हा ॥ (६) D तम्मि ॥ (७) D ह्री ॥ (८) D ०रिउ ॥ (९) D इत्थी ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) C सिया ॥ (१२) D ०वाउ ॥ (१३) D भविउ. ॥ (१४) D स्वः ॥ (१५) C om.

SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

॥ 34 ॥ कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुक्[१] ॥ ३४ ॥

स्वरात् परेषां अनादिभूतानां असंयुक्तानां कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुग् भवति ॥ क[२] । काकः काओ[३] ॥ ग । नागः णाओ[४] ॥ च । पिशाचः पिसाओ[५] ॥ ज । गजः गओ ॥ त । शितं सिअं ॥ द । मदः मओ ॥ प । नूपुरं णेउरं ॥ य । निश्चयः णिच्छओ[६] ॥ व । देवः देओ[७] ॥ अनादेर् इति किं ॥ कालो । गंधो । चोरो । परउट्ठो[८] ॥ क्वचिद् आदेर् अपि ॥ पुनः उणो[९] । गंधं अंधं । च अ । वृषभः उसहो ॥ असंयुक्तस्येति किं ॥ अर्कः[१०] अक्को । चक्रं[१०] चक्कं । क्वचित् संयुक्तस्यापि ॥ नक्तंचरः णअंचरो । नमस्कारः णमोयारो णवयारो[११] ॥ प्रायो ग्रहणात् क्वचिन् न भवति ॥ श्रपथः[१२] सवहो । शापः[१३] सावो । सकुसुमं[१४] । प्रयागजलं[१०] पयाग-जलं । प्रयुक्तं पजुत्तं[१५] । विप्रयोगः विप्पजोओ ॥

SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥

कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुकि सति शेषोऽवर्णोऽवर्णपरो यत्वं आपद्यते ॥

TO SUTRA III, 36. ON PAGE 32.

लच्छी ॥ इति श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे[१६] व्यंजनविधानं तृतीयं समाप्तं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 39. ON PAGE 33.

पज्जुत्तं ॥ पुरुषः पुलिशे । [१७]एषः एशे । [१७]मेषः[१८] मेशे ॥

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(१) See H. C. I, 177. (२) D adds numbers, thus क १, ग २, etc. (३) D काउ, and adds the following examples कोकिला कोइला । काकौ काई । प्रतिकूलः पडि-कूलो ॥ (४) D णाउ ॥ (५) D पिसाउ ॥ (६) D णिच्छिओ ॥ (७) D देवो ॥ (८) C °ठो, D °डो ; D adds the Skr. परपुष्टः ॥ (९) D चोणो ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D adds नवकारः ॥ (१२) C D स° ॥ (१३) C शापः (modern Hindí साप्). (१४) C सकुसुमं ॥ (१५) C पज्जुत्तं ॥ (१६) D reads °प्राकृतप्रकाशे ॥ (१७) C om. this example. (१८) D मिष ॥

गाथा(१) ।

(२)लहसवसनमिलसुरसिलविअलिदमंदाललाजिदंहिजुगे(३) ।

वीलजिणे पक्खालदु मम (४)शयलम् अवज्जजंवालं* ॥ १ ॥

SUTRA III, 39ᵃ. ON PAGE 33.

॥ 39ᵃ ॥ (५)शौरसेन्यां तकारस्य दकारो वा भवति ॥ (६)दाव ताव । कदं कयं । (७)गदं गयं । सुदं सुअं । इत्यादि ॥

॥ श्लोकः(८) ॥

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैवापभ्रंशोऽथ पिशाचिकी ।
मागधी (९)शौरसेनी च षड्भाषाश् च प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥१॥

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* Ed. रभस-वश-नम्र-सुर-शिर-विगलित-मंदार-राजितांह्रि-युगः ।
वीरजिनः प्रक्षालयतु मम सकलम् अवद्य-जंबालं ॥ १ ॥

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(१) C om. (२) D चलस, C originally चलस, but corrected into लचस ; also C D नमिच, but in H. C. IV, 288 नमिल ; also D विचविद ॥ (३) D भुगे ॥ (४) C D सयलम् ॥ (५) C D give no sútra for this commentary ; but add it as if it were part of sútra 39. (६) D prefixes तापः (sic) ; see H. C. IV, 262. (७) C D read पदं पयं ॥ (८) C om. (९) C D सैा० ॥

APPENDIX B C D.

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGE 3.

आम् ॥ गंगा । (१)तुम्हे रक्खउ(२) । रक्खउ(२) वो वः । (३)अम्हे रक्खउ(२) । रक्खउ(२) नो(४) नः ॥

ङसि ॥ (५)तस्मा तिस्मा(६) ॥

ङस ॥ (७)पुत्तो ते । पुत्तो मे । तव सुहं । मम सुहं(८) ॥

ङि ॥ गामे(९) । कुले(९) । तत्र(१०) तत्थ(११) । तस्मिं(१२) तम्हि । त्वयि तयि । मयि(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA II, 4. ON PAGE 15.

इंगाला ॥ (१४)विंशतिः वीसा । त्रिंशत्(१५) तीसा । वर्ज्ये(१५) *वुच्छं(१६) । (१४)वच्मि वेम्मि(१७) ॥

नेपुरं ॥ (१५)संगटच्छाति संगिएहद्द(१८) । छत्वा कट्टु(१९) । †नयनविहूर्णं(२०) सुहं । निर्व्वार्यते(२१) नीवारिज्जद्द(२२) ॥

* B वुये ॥ † C नयनविहीमं सुखं ॥

(१) C D तुज्झे ॥ (२) B रक्खचो ॥ (३) D चम्हे ॥ (४) C D णो ॥ (५) B तस्माः ॥ (६) B माच ; D adds यस्याः जस्मा जिस्मा । कस्याः कस्मा किस्मा ; and C D add गिरिणो (see I, 12). (७) C D ते पुत्तो । मे पुत्ता ॥ (८) C D add Skr. तव सुखं । मम सुखं ॥ (९) C D add गामम्मि and कुलम्मि ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D तच्छ ॥ (१२) B C D तस्मिन् ; the whole reading in B is confused तत्थ । तस्मिन् । तत्र । तम्भि (or तम्मि ?) । तम्हि । तंम्हि (or तम्हिं ?) ॥ (१३) B त्वयि मयि तइ मइ, D त्वयि तइ मयि मइ, C only तइ मइ ॥ (१४) B om. this example (see iii, 32. ii, 15). (१५) B om. Skr. translation, but see the marginal gloss. (१६) D वु० ॥ (१७) D repeats वेम्मि ॥ (१८) B संगिएहइ ॥ (१९) B काढु, D काइ (see ii, 19). (२०) B नइणं वऊमुहं ॥ (२१) So B ; C D निवार्यते ॥ (२२) B निम्वा०, C D वीवा० ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 24.

भक्खरो ॥ कः करोति को करइ । कः पचति को पयइ[१] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

लच्छी ॥ C D ॥ आत्मा अप्पा । तीक्ष्णं तिह्हं[२] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जम्हा ॥ [३]कृष्णः कण्हो[४] । ग्रीष्मः[५] गिम्हो[६] । ऊष्मा[७] उम्हा[६] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 24. ON PAGE 29.

दुग्गा ॥ शक्रः सक्को[८] । तस्करः तक्करो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 27. ON PAGE 30.

अन्येषाम् उक्तविशेषाणां द्वि० स एव भ० ॥ अ० अ० । स्वर्गं सग्गं । स० स० ।
दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । नाट्यः[९] नट्टो[१०] । भुक्तं भुत्तं । धान्यं धन्नं[११] ।
सर्पः सप्पो । शुल्वं[१२] सुल्वं । काव्यं कव्वं । शस्यं सस्सं[१३] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

माया ॥ पिशाचाः पिसाया । [१४]वनराजा वणराया । माता माया[१५] ।
यदा जया[१६] । [१४]पापफलं पायहलं ॥ अवर्ण इति किं ॥ देवाः
देआ[१७] । पिता[१८] पिआ[१९] । [२०]लोकस्य लोअस्स । भुवनं
भुअणं । क्वचिद् भवत्य् एव ॥ पिबति[२१] पियइ ॥

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(१) B पचइ or पचर ? ॥ (२) B तीपहं ॥ (३) A also has this example, see note १२, p. 29; A C D place it before तृष्णा (see p. 29), but B after जम्हा ॥ (४) A कम्हो (see note १२, p. 29). (५) C D घीष्मो ॥ (६) C D place this example before यस्मात् (see p. 29). (७) B D उष्मा ॥ (८) D शक्ो ॥ (९) C D नाटंा ॥ (१०) C D पाहं ॥ (११) So B; C D धषं ॥ (१२) Conjectural; B has शुक्रः सुक्रं; C D शुक्रं सुक्रं ॥ (१३) B शस्सं ॥ (१४) B om. this example. (१५) B adds शारदा सारया ॥ (१६) B adds चपलतं चवलयं (MS. चपकतं) चपचितं चवचियं (MS. चर्वचितं); then follows पिता, then माता, then शारदा ॥ (१७) B देयाः ॥ (१८) B places this among the regular examples, see footnote १६. (१९) D पिया ॥ (२०) B om. the remainder. (२१) C om.

I. INDEX OF SU'TRAS.

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	Manuscripts. A	B	C	D
I, 1		सिद्धं प्राकृतं त्रेधा ॥	1	1	1	1
2		लिंगं च ॥	2	2	2	2
3		तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तय: ॥	3	3	3	3
4		क्वचिद् व्यत्यय: ॥	4	4	4	4
5		सागमस्य अप्य आमो णो हो वा ॥	5	5	5	5
6		संख्याया ण्ह: ॥	6	6	6	6
	CD 6[a]	टा ण: ॥	—	–	7	7
7		हि भिस: ॥	7	7	8	8
8		हिंतो भ्यस: ॥	8	8	9	9
9		तृतीयादीनां एत्वं एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥	9	9	10	10
10		आ उ लोपा जश्शसो: ॥	10	10	11	11
	CD 10[a]	द्वित्रिशब्दाभ्यां जश्शसोर् णि: ॥	—	—	12	12
11		पुंसि पूर्व्वत्वं ॥	11	11	13	13
	C 11[a]	क्लीवे जश्शसोर् इं ॥	—	–	14	–
12		णो ङसेश् च ॥	12	12	15	14
13		स्सश् च ङस: ॥	13	13	16	15
14		ए म्मि ङे: ॥	14	14	17	16
15		ए शसो ऽत: ॥	15	deest	18	17
16		तो तु हिंतो लोपास् तस्य आत: ॥	16	16	19	18
17		तद् इदमो: से षष्ठीरूपाणां ॥	17	17	20	19

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	A	B	C	D
18		युष्मदः ॥	18	18	21	20
19	C D	[तं तुं तुवं तुह C D] तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥	19	19	22	21
20	C D	अमि तुए [तुमं तं C D] च ॥	20	20	24	23
21		तुम्भे जसि ॥	21	21	23	22
22		तुम्भे शसि ॥	22	22	25	24
23		ते तुमे तइ तए टायां ॥	23	23	26	25
24		तुमाहिं तुमाहिंतो तुमातो तइत्तो पंचम्यां ॥	24	24	28	27
25		तुहतुज्झतुम्ह षष्ठ्यां ॥	25	25	29	28
	C D 25[a]	तुम्हम् आमि ॥	—	—	30	29
	C D 25[b]	तइ ङौ	—	—	31	30
26		अस्मदः ॥	26	26	33	32
	C D 26[a]	हउं हं अहं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥	—	—	34	33
	C D 26[b]	अम्हे जसि ॥	—	—	35	34
	C D 26[c]	मम् अमि ॥	—	—	36	35
	C D 26[d]	अम्हे शसि.॥	—	—	37	36
27		मे मए टायां ॥	27	27	38	37
28		मइत्तो ङसौ ॥	28	28	39	38
29		अम्हाहिंतो भ्यसि ॥	29	29	40	39
30		महमज्झ ङसि ॥	30	30	41	40
31		अम्हम् आमि ॥	31	31	42	41
	C D 31[a]	मइ ङौ	—	—	43	42

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
	D 1[a]	संस्कृतवत् संधिकार्यं पद्योः ॥	—	—	—	1
1		स्वराणां स्वरे प्रकृति-लोप-संधयः ॥	1	1	1	2
	D 1[b]	स्वरस्य उद्धृते ॥	—	—	—	3
	D 1[c]	न युवर्णस्य अस्वे ॥	—	—	—	4
2		संयोगपरे लोपः ॥	2	2	2	5
3		ह्रस्वत्वं संयोगे ॥	3	3	3	6
4		स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥	4	4	4	7
5		स्वरा रि च ऋवर्णस्य ॥	5	5	5	8
6		एरैतः ॥	6	6	6	9
7		अद् च ॥	7	7	7	10
8		ओरौतः ॥	8	8	8	11
9		अउ च ॥	9	9	9	12
10		एद्-ओद्-र-लोपा विसर्ज्जनीयस्य ॥	10	10	10	13
11		अदागमोऽनुस्वर-लोपौ च व्यंजनस्य ॥	11	11	11	14
12		द्वित्वं बहुत्वेन ॥	12	12	12	15
13		षष्ठीवच् चतुर्थी ॥	13	13	13	16
	CD 13[a]	प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	14	17
	CD 13[b]	सप्तम्यास् तृतीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	15	18
14	CD	न प्लुत-ङ-[-न-CD]ञाः ॥	14	14	16	19
15		अनुस्वारो बहुलं ॥	15	15	17	20
16		गोर् गावि ॥	16	16	18	21
17		एवार्थे णद्-चेत्रा-चियाः ॥	17	17	19	22
18		अथ-अस्योर् अ-लोपः ॥	18	18	20	23

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
19	C D	तु-त्ता-त्था-ट्टु-त्तुं-तूण-[तूआण-C D] ओ-[वि-C D] [प्पि-A B] [प्पिणु-वेप्पिणु C D] पूर्वकालार्थे ॥	19	19	21	24
20		मल्-अर्थे आल-इल्लौ ॥	20	20	22	25
	C D	तत्रभवेऽपि इल्ल-उल्लौ ॥				
	C D	अधो हेट्ठः ॥				
21	C D	ता-ताव-[जा-जावास् C D] तावद् [यावतोः C D] ॥	21	21	23	26
22		उपमाने पिव-इव-विव-विय-व्व-व-जहा वतः ॥	22	22	24	27
23		ओत्वं अव-अपयोः ॥	23	23	25	28
24		खल्वोः खुः ॥	24	24	26	29
25		तो वर्त्तमानार्थे ॥	25	25	27	30
26		भे सर्वासु युष्मदः ॥	26	26	I,32	I,31
27		अस्मदोऽपि [भे सर्वासु C D] ॥	27	27	I,44	I,43
	C D 27[a]	इजेराः पादपूरणे ॥	—	—	28	31
	„ 27[b]	जि-अव्ययं एवार्थे ॥	—	—	29	32
	„ 27[c]	णवरि आनंतर्य्यार्थे ॥	—	—	30	33
	„ 27[d]	णवरु केवलार्थे ॥	—	—	31	34
	„ 27[e]	यदेः कुडु ॥	—	—	32	35
	„ 27[f]	थूथू क्कि क्कि कुत्सायां ॥	—	—	33	36
	„ 27[g]	दडवड शीघ्रार्थे ॥	—	—	34	37
	„ 27[h]	अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखस्य इतस्ततो गमने उवडव ॥	—	—	35	38

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
	C D 27[l]	एं णउ णाइं णावइ जणि मणु इवार्थे ॥	27	27	36	39
	„ 27[k]	दाणिं एण्हिं एत्ताहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥	—	—	37	40
	„ 27[i]	यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिम तिमौ ॥	—	—	38	41
28		इतेर् ईयः ॥	28	28	39	42
29		भावे त्तणः ॥	29	20	40	43
	C D 29[a]	नो डः ॥	—	—	41	44

CHAPTER III.

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER III.	A	B	C	D
1		ह्याद् य्वौ लोप्यौ ॥	1	1	1	1
2		अवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं ॥	2	2	2	2
3		वर्गे ॥	3	3	3	3
4		श्च वर्गाद्यं ॥	4	4	4	4
5		वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥	5	5	5	5
6		आच् च पंचमो वा ॥	6	6	6	6
7		दो वे वा ॥	7	7	7	7
8		षाट् टः ॥	8	8	8	8
9		रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥	9	9	9	9
10		असंयोगस्य ॥	10	10	—	—
11		प्रथमद्वितीययोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थौ ॥	11	11	10	10
	C D 11[o]	तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥	—	—	11	11
12		प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥	12	12	12	12
13		ह्रो [A B ख-]-घधभानां ॥	13	13	13	13
14		सस्य खकशाः ॥	14	14	14	14

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER III.	A	B	C	D.
15		यस्य जः ॥	15	15	15	15
	C D 15[a]	पवयोर् मो वा ॥	—	—	16	16
16		तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥	16	16	17	17
17		युष्मदो यस्य तः ॥	17	17	I,27	I,26
	C D 17[b]	जस्य रः ॥	—	—	18	18
18		रशषाणां सः ॥	18	18	19	19
19		हजयानां रनखाः ॥	19	19	20	20
20		गरहाणां घणझाः ॥	20	20	21	21
21		मडहानां वलभाः ॥	21	21	22	22
22	C D	यवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ (C D पव० व्य०)	22	22	23	23
	C D 22[a]	रलयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥	—	—	24	24
23		ग्रहयोर् लोपे नणमानाम् अधो हेऽपदादौ स्थितानां ॥	23	23	25	25
24		लोपे द्वित्वं ॥	24	24	26	26
25		क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥	25	25	27	27
26		तस्मिन् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥	26	26	28	28
27		स एव अन्येषां ॥	27	27	29	29
28		न पदादौ ॥	28	28	30	30
29		क्वचिद् अन्यत्र अपि ॥	29	29	31	31
30		संयोगस्य दृष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥	30	30	32	32
31		यवयोर् इद् उतौ ॥	31	31	33	33
32		संख्यायास् तिग्रयोर् लोपः ॥	32	32	34	34

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER III.	A	B	C	D
33		तस्य च ॥	33	33	35	35
34	C D	कव्हतीययोः स्वरे ॥ (C D कगचजत-दपयवां प्रायो लुक्)	34	34	36	36
35	C D	यत्नम् अवर्णे ॥ (C D य० अवर्णः)	35	35	37	37
36		शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥	36	36	38	38
37		न लोपोऽपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य ॥	37	37	IV, 1	IV, 1
38		पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर् लनौ ॥	38	38	IV, 2	IV, 2
39		मागधिकायां रसयोर् लशौ ॥	39	39	IV, 3	IV, 3
40	C D 39[a]	शौरसेन्यां तस्य दो वा ॥	—	—	IV, 4	IV, 4

II. INDEX OF PRA'KRIT WORDS

OCCURRING IN THE FOREGOING PAGES.

Numbers preceded by capital letters refer to the Appendices; the others to the Text; words enclosed within angular brackets, [ ], refer to the Footnotes.

थ ।

द ।

फ ।

ब ।

भ।

म।

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Page		line					
Page	14,	line	1,	*read*	वुड्ढि	*for*	वुड्ढी
„	29,	„	6,	„	वन्हि	„	वन्ही
„	41,	„	8,	„	तुवं	„	वंतु
„	47,	„	1,	„	छिद्दि	„	छिद्द

On page 9 in footnote (१९) insert: B ममस्सा, and on page 53, in footnote (५) insert: C D prefix देवात् देवा, and in footnote (८) insert: C D prefix देवे देवम्मि ॥